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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
E. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 17.

EDITED BY
SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D.

BOMBAY :

PRINTED AT THE FORT PRINTING PRESS, BOMBAY.

1930

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قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان

و

بیان آتش بهرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÜSHTIÂN-I HINDÜSTÂN

VA

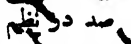
BAYÂN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., B.A., PH.D., C.I.E.

I

I give in this paper, the text, with notes, of the Persian treatise, known as "The Qisseh-i Zartûshtiân-i Hindûstân va Bayân-i Âtash Behrâm-i Naosari", written by Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, at the end of the eighteenth century. I also give my free version of the Persian text. As far as I know, only two MS. copies of this treatise are known. I had the pleasure of seeing both these two copies in 1901, during my study for the paper, entitled "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-rana", read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on 19th December 1901.¹ I will quote here what I have said there: "There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari, and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently

1 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 115. *Vide* my "Parsees at the of Court Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (1903), p. 45.

presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (*vide* the Catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library, published in 1898, p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that શપુરજી માણેજી સંજાના પોતાને હાથે લખેલી, *i.e.*, it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, by his own hand). The MS., belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai, in writing to a friend, Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says “એ શપુરજી સંજાના હાથે લખેલી અને વહી પેહેલો કરેલો ખરડોજ એ છે,” *i.e.*, “it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana’s own hand and it is the very first draft”. On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana Library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai’s MS., we find, on almost all pages, a number of corrections, both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS., between the first portion of the verses, which gives an account of the first great fire-temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire-temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37), some notes in Gujarati, describing how at the request of Chāngashā, the sacred fire of the first fire-temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Ātashbehram (fire-temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam . In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which, as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library,

are as follows:—

- (1) قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان, *i.e.* An Account of the Zoroastrians of India.
- (2) بیان آتشبهرام نوساری, *i.e.* An Account of the Fire-temple of Naosari.

“The fair MS. would, at first sight, appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (*e.g.* ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire-temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.”¹

The text given here, is that from the fair MS. in the Meherji Rana Library. I beg to express my thanks to the Committee of the Library for their kindly lending it to me for publishing it. As the other copy, referred to above, is merely a rough copy of the author, it is not of much use for collation. I beg to thank the owner for having kindly lent it to me on the above first occasion.

The poem consists of two parts. The first part treats of the early settlement of the Parsees in India, and the second, of the foundation and consecration of a fire-temple at Naosari. On the page preceding the Saddar Nasr, which begins the MS., the title of the poem is given as قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان و بیان آتشبهرام نوساری. The author seems to have taken both the parts as forming one poem, because, it is at the end of the second part that he has given his genealogy.

The text is published here for the first time. Before giving the text, I will say here a few words on the nature of the subject of the treatise and its author.

1 In this printed text they are ll. 580-581.

II

The Persian writings of the Zoroastrians stand next in importance to the Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend writings. They are on various subjects. Some are written by the learned Zoroastrians of Persia and some by those of India. Among the former are the Rivâyats, containing answers to questions on religious subjects put to the learned Dasturs of Persia, by the Dasturs and Behedins of India. Besides these Rivâyats, there are treatises on various subjects, such as the following¹ :—

1. Ulemâ-i Islâm.²
2. Zand-i Vohuman Yasht.³
3. Statements of Prophecy.⁴
4. Ahkâm-i Jamasp.⁵
5. Vafsi Ameshaspandân.⁶
6. Mâr-nameh.⁷
7. Kisseh-i Sultan Mahmud Giznavi (998-1030 A.C.).⁸
8. Kisseh-i Afrâsiâb bin Pashang.⁹
9. Dâstân-i Mazdak va Shah Naushirvân Adal.¹⁰
10. Hadis-i Farrokh-nameh-i Yunân Dastur ba Naushirvan.¹¹
11. Hekâyat-i Shah-zadeh Irân Zamin bâ Omar Khatab.¹²

1. *Vide* my introduction to the late Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwala's Rivâyat of Darab Hormazdyar, pp. 69-70.

2. *Vide* for its text "Fragments relatifs a la Religion de Zoroastre" (1829) by M. Olshausen de Kiel, pp. 1-10. *Vide* M. R. Unwala's Rivâyat of Darab Hormazdyar, Vol. II, pp. 72-80. For some further particulars about this treatise, *vide* my Introduction to Unwala's above Rivâyat, pp. 10-11.

3. Unwala's Rivâyat II, pp. 86-97.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 97-101.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 101-109. *Vide* my "Pahlavi Translation, Jamaspi" (1903), pp. 80-91.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 164-192.

7. *Ibid.* p. 192. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers", Part I, pp. 34-42.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 194-99.

9. *Ibid.* pp. 210-13.

10. *Ibid.* pp. 214-230. 11. *Ibid.* pp. 232-240. 12. *Ibid.* 242-255.

12. Fragments of Minokherat.¹
13. Hekāyat-i Khādam bā pādshah.²
14. The story of a King who renounced the world.³
15. The story of a Darwish and a piece of Bread.⁴
16. The Ardai Virāf-nameh.⁵
17. Dādār bin Dādokht.⁶
18. Zarthusht-nameh.

Coming to the writings of the Indian writers, we find the following:—

1. The compilations of the Rivāyats by Hormazdyar Framroz, Darab Hormazdyar and Barzo Kamdin.
2. The Kisseh-i Sanjan.⁷
3. The Farziāt-nameh of Dastur Darab Pahlān.⁸
4. The Kholaseh-i Din of Dastur Darab Pahlān.

The Dasturs of India have written, besides these, a number of Monajāts (مناجات) or prayers.⁹ The most remarkable of the Persian writings of the Indian Dasturs is the George-nameh (جارجنامه) by Dastur Mulla Feroze.¹⁰ It gives, in good verse in three volumes, an account of British

1 *Ibid.* pp. 259-266. 2 *Ibid.* pp. 313-318. 3 *Ibid.* pp. 318-329.

4 *Ibid.* p. 328. 5 *Ibid.* pp. 331-342.

6 This treatise is translated in Gujarati by Ervad Dadabhai Bharucha of Broach.

7 For the Text, *vide* The Kisseh-i Sanjan by Mr. Rustam B. Paymaster. For Translation, *vide* E. B. Eastwick's "Zartusht-nameh," R. B. Paymaster's "કાર્ત્તે સંજન.", Shapurji H. Hodivala's "Studies in Parsee History."

8 *Vide* for the text and version of this and the next treatise my "Farziāt-nameh of Dastur Darab Pahlān."

9 *Vide* Mr. Meherjibhoy N. Kuka's "નિયયશે અર્જુનમજદ અને કાર્ત્તે મોનાજતો."

10 The George-nameh of Mulla Feruz bīa Kāvus, the Head Priest of the Parsi Kadnis of Bombay.

rule in India, especially of the reign of King George IV of England. It was written under the patronage of the then Governor of Bombay.

The present treatise forms one of such writings of the Indian Dasturs. For the events referred to in the Qisseh, the Qisseh-i Sanjan is an older authority. Our author follows it in his language also, in several places. For a fuller account of the events, as mentioned in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, one may read with advantage my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees".

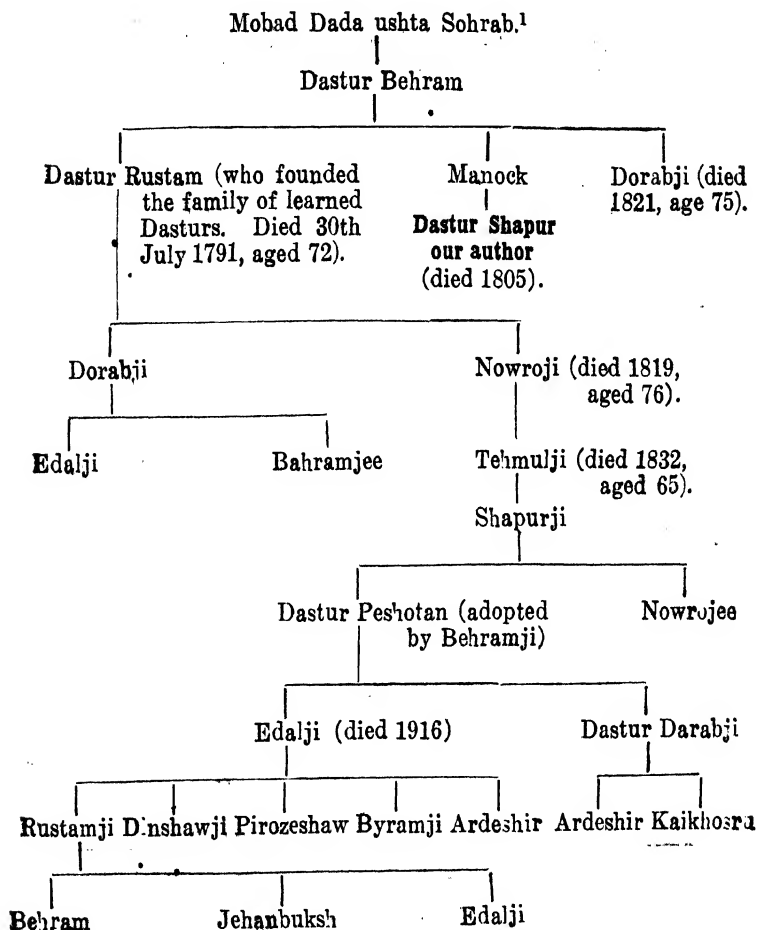
The author, Dastur Shapurji Sanjana, was born in 1735 and died in 1805, aged 70. He

The Author. belonged to a learned family, which has given several learned priests to the Parsee communities of Surat and Bombay. The founder of his family was Dastur Rustamji Byramji, who died on 30th July 1791 at the age of 71. The family, at first, lived at Naosari. But it was the grandfather of the founder of the family, Darab Sohrab, who first migrated to Surat, in order to be free from the troubles arising from the frequent inroads of the Pindarees, who now and then plundered Naosari. Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Dastur Darabji Peshotanji Sanjana thus carries the ancestry of the founder of the family upwards to Neryosang Dhaval, from whom many priestly families of Naosari trace their descent:—

Dastur Rustam—Dastur Behram—Mobad Dada—ushta Sohrab—Mobad Maneck—Mobad Peshotan—ushta Jiva—Mobad Shaher—Dastur Chanda—Dastur Ashdin—Dastur Mahiyâr—Dastur Faridun—Dastur Hom—Mobad Bahmân—Mobad Khorshed—Dastur Behmanyar—Dastur Khojesta—Dastur Khushmas(a)—Dastur Nairyosang—Mobad Dahyopat (Dhaval).¹

1 The second edition of the Cherage Danesh (ચેરાગે દાનેશ), attached to his Pahlavi Dinâ-i Maînû-i Kharat, page 5.

The descending genealogy of the family upto the present generation, as prepared by me from the *Parsee Prakash* and other sources, stands as follows:—



1 He first shifted from Naosari to Surat.

III

THE TEXT

قصہ زرتشتیان هندستان

بیان آتش بہرام نوساری

بنام آن خدای داور پاک کہ پیدا کرد بر ما بستر خاک
 ز جود¹ او ہمہ موجود گشته ز لطف او ہمہ مشہور گشته
 خدای کو یگاہ بی بہانہ ہمہ هست نیست او هست جاودانہ
 منزہ² دانش از پستی و بالا ازو اظہار شد لولوی لالا
 5 ہمہ عالم ازو امید دارند کہ نیکانرا مینو میسپارند
 کہ نامش اورمزد و پاک و مینو فرشتہ حاضر اند در قربت او
 خدا آنرا بخوان ہر روز و ہر شب کہ دارد یک راہر لحظہ³ خوش لب
 خداوندیکہ او کردہ ہمہ هست خداوندیکہ بد را میکند پست⁴
 خداوندیکہ عقلش دور بین است خداوندیکہ مشکل را کلید است
 10 خداوندیکہ نور او اچند⁵ است خداوندیکہ ویر⁶ او پسند است

1 Joud = munificence. 2 Munazzah = pure; blameless; holy.

3 Lulu-i-lâlâ = incomparable gem; lit. a pearl of tulip.

4 Lahza = a glance; moment. 5 Past = low; destroyed.

6 There is no word in Persian as 'a-chand' so it seems to be 'a', negative and chand "any indefinite quality," meaning 'unlimited.' 7 Wir = mind.

خداوندیکه میخواهد فرارون که از بنده نمیخواهد آوارون
 زهی¹ قادر ز قدرت کرد پیدا همه کنبا² و توانایان هویدا³
 که بر فرش تراب⁴ این صنعت⁵ او به بین ای مرد نیکو پاک و آشو⁶
 خداوندیکه راد و پشزیدار⁷ کریم و مهربان و راست گفتار
 15 اهو⁸ دانا که پیدا کرد گهنبار بهر يك سال شش آیند اظهار
 از ان ترتیب عالم کرد پیدا گنامینو شده زین دام ویدا⁹
 بگهنبار نخستین آسمانها بکرده آنخدای روح و جانها
 بوستا¹⁰ گویدش میدیوزرم نام بخوانی مابدائی ای نیکو کام
 دوم گهنبار میدیوشهم نامش درین گاه آب داده او تماش
 20 سیوم گهنبار بیتشهم خوانی زمین مرتب شده زین که تمامی
 چهارم گاه باشد ایانرم نام همه اورور شده ظاهر درین بام
 به پنجم که اهو از نیک آهین¹⁰ بکرده کوسفندی پنج آهین
 بوستا نام میدیاریم خوانی شده مرتب همه کینا¹¹ تمامی

1 Zahi = how good ! 2 This word is not intelligible. The meaning seems to be "all his.....and powers (from tavānā) are clear or known. The word may be Arab. 'kamb' i.e. collecting in the sense of strength.

3 Turāb = moist with water; flowing; elegant.

4 San'at = art. 5 Asho = holy. 6 The word seems to be 'a Pers. adaptation from P. یوزش, pardon; pardoner.

7 Ahu = Lord. 8 Widā = lost. 9 Ba vasta (Avesta).

10 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 panj ātinak of Bundehsh XIV, Heading. N.P.

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎 panj ātin. Cf. gōspendān panj ātin of the Afrin-i Gāhambār, 28.

11 Pahl. 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮 traditionally read kinā, sheep.

همبستمیدئیم کهنبار ششم برهنیده دران که جمله مردم
 25 چون در يك سال پیدا کرد دنیا درین شش که بکرده جمله پیدا
 درین دنیا بمردم سروری داد که داند در دل خود داد و بیداد
 هران چیزی خدا کردست ظاهر شدم مردم ازان مندوم¹ ماهر²
 خدا این آفرید و کرد پیدا درین ره هوش سرگردان و ویدا
 خداوندیکه دین مزدیسنان بداده آن بزرشت سفنتان
 30 بقدرت آفریده پوروشسپ را که از پشتش شده زرتشت پیدا
 شده در وقت زادن خنده رویش همه دیوان شده زان زرد رویش
 عجب مانده همه مردم در انجا ازان خنده و فر³ و روی آنرا
 همه دیوان و شیطان فکر بردند بران نیکو منش افسون بکردند
 نشد افسون اثر بر نیک زرتشت خدای کو⁴ بدش هم یار و هم پشت
 35 همه شرمنده شد جادو دیوان شده خوار و پریشان و غریوان⁵
 چو شد سی سال عمر آن زراتشت همه ملعون⁶ و دیوان را شکست پشت
 بحکم آن خدای پاک دادار بیامد بهمین از مینو سزاوار
 بزرشت گزین گفتا بیا هین⁷ نایم من مینو گاه زرین
 برده آن زراتشت نیکوکار بنزدیک خدای پاک دادار
 40 بقدر⁷ خود نمازش برد زرتشت که ای دادار داور یاور و پشت
 همین گونه بنزدیک خداوند پیرسیده زراتشت نیکو بند

1 Pahl. ۴۲۶ thing. 2 Mahir = expert.

3 Farr = glory; dignity. 4 Ghirewan = one who laments.

5 Mal'ûn = cursed. 6 Hin = lo ! behold ! make haste!

7 Qadr = dignity.

بهانده نزد حق ده سال آن راد همه دید و شنید آن سود بنیاد
 همه راز نهانش آشکارا بکرده آن خدای با مدارا¹
 همه زند و اوستا را بیاموخت بکرده یاد آن نیکو زراشت
 همه جای بهشت و دوزخ. تار بدیده دید آن زرتشت دیندار 45
 شده واقف زمینوی روانها از ان استارگان² و آسمانها
 پس آنکه حکم کرده آن خداوند بزرشت گزین و نیک پیوند
 پذیر از من تو دین مزد یسنان روا کن در جهان استمندان³
 پس آنکه بیست و یک نسک زوستا بداده آن خدای پاک و یکتا
 دگر داده مرا و روشن آتش که بی همزم بسوزد دایم او خوش 50
 سیوم داده نهال سرو کشمیر همین سه چیز را پدرفت با ویر⁴
 یکی تخت مرصع⁵ داد و روشن بران بنشست زرتشت نیکو تن
 مر آن سه چیز بر تختش نهاده فرشته چون بنزدش ایستاده
 مر آن تخت مرصع را بر افراشت بدوش خود نهاده بر زمین داشت
 چو آمد در جهان زرتشت پیمبر⁶ بخوانده از زبان خویش آهنور 55
 ازان آهنور شده ملعون پر غم که اهریمن ابا دیوان شده کم
 همه کالوی⁷ دیوان را شکسته ز برکات اوستا غرق گشته
 پس آنکه آن بدرگاه شهنشا⁸ بیامد چون زراشت پر آگاه
 دعا کردش ابر شاه نیکو نام بیادا توبه نیرومند چون سام

1. Mudārā = humility. 2 Istarah = a star.

3 Pahl. = ^{ast} ^{homand} ^{corporea} ast homand; corporea.

4 Vir = intellect. 5 Murassa = set with jewels.

6 The word should be ^{یامبر} or ^{یغبر} 7 Kālu, body. Same as kālbād. 8 Miswritten for ^{شهنشا}

- 60 بیاشی در جهان ای شاه گشتاسپ بدانای و حکمت همچو جاماسپ
 چو کیخسرو انبوهش¹ مادام بنور و ورج² و خوره همچو جم نام
 بدینگونه بوستا بس دعا کرد که شه گشتاسپ را خود آشنا کرد
 بدیده دید شاهنشاه گشتاسپ نشسته بود آنجا پیر جاماسپ
 ورا گشتاسپ پرسیدش که تو کیست فرشته هست یا مردم بگو چیست
 65 جوابش داد هستم من پیغمبر فرستاده خدایم من با یدر³
 که دین مزدیسنی را هویدا کنم نزدیک تو ای شاه پیدا
 باول گفت ای شاه نیکو بخش یکی گنبد بساز از بهر آتش
 مرا از مینو دادست آن خداوند نشان در کنید آذر همانند
 دگر گفت ای شهنشه نیک⁴ آیین نهال سرو آوردم نیکو بین
 70 چو این در ارض⁵ بنشانی تو ظاهر به بین این معجزه باشی تو ماهر
 دگر آورده ام من بیست و یک نسک بخوان از خواهش خود این نکونسک
 چو بشنیده شه وشتاسپ این راز دعا کردش بزرگشت نیکو باز
 پس آنکه حکم کرده آن شهنشاه بسازید گنبدی در پیش درگاه
 در آن گنبد نگارند خوب تصویر چو شه جمشید و کیخسرو و نیکو ویر
 75 نگاریده بسان بهشت نقاش همه شاهان پیشین را نمود فاش⁶
 شده گنبد مرتب خوب و رنگین نشانیده در آنجا آتش این
 که آورده بد آن نیکو پیغمبر نزدیک خدای پاک و برتر

1 Avesta 𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, Pahl. 𐭮𐭲𐭮 deathless. The final 𐬀 is for "thee". 2 Werj=pomp; dignity.

3 Ba یدر = i.e. here, hereto. 4 Nik-Āyin = good-natured.

5 Arz=earth; ground. 6 Fash=clear.

بزرگان و امیران شد پرستار شده از خوره^۱ آتش خبردار
 شدند از ورج آتش جمله بیغم زیر و^۲ نستهن^۳ لهراسب خرم
 80 نهال سرو را چو بر دیگر جا نشانیده برای معجزش را
 همون ساعت شده برگش بدریدار بحکم آن خدای پاك دادار
 بسته^۴ بد بیرکش کای شهنشاه پذیر این دین به را شو پر آگاه
 چو شه وشتاسپ این برهان^۵ دیده یقین بر دین به خود آوریده
 پس آنکه بیست و يك نسك زوستا بخوانده پیش شه زرتشت دانا
 85 هویدا شده به ایران دین ایزدان که آورده زراشت سفتیان
 همه برنا و پیران از دل و جان شده خواهان بدین مزد یسنان
 چو چندین سال دین به روا بود زمانه دور اسکندر چو بنمود
 گرفت آن پادشاهی شاه مکار^۶ شده اهریمن و دیوش مددگار
 بسی ظلم و ستم کرده^۷ بعالم بهان^۸ را خوار کرد آن شاه ظالم
 90 هران دین بهی را خواستندی بران ظلم و ستم افراشتندی
 بسی ظلم و ستم بر مرد دیندار بکرده آن شه ناپاك و بدکار
 که شان ظلم و ستم کرده بدیسان نکرده^۹ بد کسی شاهان بگینان
 چو سبصد سال دوزش اینچنین راند زبیداش نه وهان^{۱۰} در جهان ماند
 پس آنکه آن خدای نيك دادار بکرده رحم بر مردبان دیندار

1 Among the heroes of the Court of Gushtâsp, we have no hero of the name of Nasthan. But there is one Nastûr, misread (from Bastur). Vide my Aiyadgar-i Zariran, etc. pp. 87-49, 65.

2 Burhân=proof. 8 Makkar=knave, swindler.

4 Behân=good men. 5 Vehân=good men.

- 95 یکی شه را بکرده آن هویدا شهنشہ اردشیرش نام پیدا
 شده بر هفت کشور پادشاهی خداوندا بدارش در پناهی
 ز عدلش یافت آرام این جهان باز بر آسودند ملک از کین و پرداز¹
 بدورش² رفت چو اردای ویراف بنزدیک خدای با دل صاف
 همه این قصه ویراف خوشنام بگفته است زرتشت ابن بهرام
 100 تو گرچه قصه ویراف خوانی همه شایست و ناشایست بدانی
 بشو هوشیار ای شاپور درینکام که ینابی جنت الماوا³ بارام
 شده جاری چو دین مزدیسنان که تا شاهعی آخر یزدجردان
 چون رفته شاه یزدجرد ازین بام⁴ نهانده دین به را زینت و نام
 که رفت از یزدگرد شه پادشاهی گرفته تخت جد دین از تباہی
 105 ازان مدت⁵ خرابی شد به ایران دریغ آن دین و ملک افتاده ویران
 دران ایام هرکس شد پراگند هران کو داشت دل بزند و پازند
 همه دستور و بهدین گشت ویران برای دین نهان گشتند چندان
 چو دستوران بهدینان بیکبار فکر کردند و رفتند آن نکوکار
 ز ترس و بیم جد دینان نهان ماند که تا صد سال در کوهستان ماند
 110 درانجا هم رسیده ظلم جد دین شدند اندیشه مند دانای بهدین
 وزانپس آب همه دانا بیکبار بسوی شهر هرمز شد طلبکار
 در آنجا که بمانده ده و پنج سال ز ظلم بدتران گشتند بی حال

1 Pardâz = robbery; from pardâkhtan = to seize; rob.

2 Ba-daurash = in his time.

3 Jinnat-ul-mâva, the

mansion of paradise. 4 Bâm = roof; home, i.e. world.

5 Muddat = space of time.

میان شات یکی دانای دستور همیشه در منجم بود مشهور
 ز علم¹ رمل وز هندسه² نیز توانا بود بر هر علم و هر چیز
 115 بدیده در رمل آف پاک بینا که مارا رفته باید چون ازینجا
 وگر مانیم همه افیتیم در دام شود زیر و زبر کار شما خام
 پس آن خوشتر بود از جور دورند بیاید رفت ما را بر سر هند
 ز بهر دین همه بگریخت زانجا بسوی هند رفته بهر ما وا³
 بدریا زورق⁴ و کیشی بسی بود همون وقت بادبان⁵ را بانو بکشود
 120 چو کیشی بر کنار شط⁶ بماندند زن و فرزند را بروی نشانند
 چنان اسباب و توشه بروی بردند همه بهدین ورا پر بار کردند
 روانه کرد کیشی را بدریا همه موبد نشستند بروی یکجا
 چو کیشی نیزتر رفتند بر آب همه کس خوش شده خفتند در خواب
 که نا که باد طوفان چون وزیده همه کیشی و ذورق در کشیده
 125 همه دانا ز آفت گشت پر بیم شده پر هول و دل در گشت دو⁷ نیم
 بدرگاه خدا کردند زاری بیا ایستاد و بردند خواستاری
 برس ای دادگر بر یاری⁸ ما رها⁹ ما را ازین پر بیم ماوا¹⁰
 توی آگه که مایان بیکسانیم¹¹ ازین طوفان وارون¹⁰ وا رهانیم¹¹

1 Ramal, sand. Then, the art of prognosticating from lines in the sand. The text has a redundant و vaw after the word, added by mistake.

2 Handasa = arithmetic, calculations, i.e. astronomical or astrological calculations. 8 Behr-i-Mâva = for refuge.

4 Zauraq = boat. 5 Bâdbân = sails. 6 Shatt = the bank of a river. 7 Became distressed. Lit. the heart was divided into two. 8 Mawa = abode, i.e. condition.

9 Bi-kas = helpless, lit. without any body.

10 Warûn = unfortunate. 11 Wâ-rehânidan = to deliver.

برس یاری توای دادار ایزدان رهای بخش ازین ماوای طوفان
 130 ازین طوفان رهای ما بیاییم بسوی شهر هندوستان شتاییم
 ورهram آتش آنجا که نشانیم ازین سختی و طوفان باز مانیم
 پذیرقمیم اینکار از دل و جان مراد مان رسان ای پاک ایزدان
 زئیم¹ آتش بهرام مینو ازان سختی همه گشتند خوشرو
 قبول افتاد نزد حق مناجات بر آورده مراد و جمله حاجات
 135 یکی باد صبا² بس خوش وزیده همه باد مخالف زو رمیده
 چون ملاحان³ بنام پاک دادار ستایش کرد بر کرکر⁴ ز گفتار
 همه دستور و بهدین چون بیکبار بکرده کستی از هم راست کردار
 دعا خوان گشته بر نزد خداوند از آنجا نیز کیشتها برفتند
 چو کیشتهبان کشیده کیشتهارا نخست در دیب آمد بی خیارا⁵
 140 همه مردم بشهر دیب رفتند بشوق⁶ دل در آنجا جا گرفتند
 دران کشور بمانده نوز ده سال یکی روز موبد دانا زده فال
 نگاه کرده برمل موبد پاک همانکه گفت بادانای بی پاک
 ازینجا جای دگر ما گزینیم دران ماوا⁷ بصد شادی نشینیم
 ازین گفتار گشته جمله خشنود سوی کجرات هرکس داشت مقصود
 145 که ملاحان چو کیشتی ساز کرده بذورق بادبان آغاز کرده

1 Yamn = good fortune. 2 Sabā = gentle breeze.

3 Mallāhān = seamen. 4 Karkar = God.

5 The meaning is not clear. Perhaps the word is from Pahl. *khayā*, life, vitality. Ar. *حَیَّة*

6 Shauq = pleasure, desire.

7 Māwā = abode; asylum.

لزانجا تیزتر¹ کیشتی کشیده بسوی کشور سنجان رسیده
 بسنجان رای نیکو سروری بود مرا او را نام جادی رانه² بود
 بسی عقل و فراست بود با او سخی و راست گفتار و نیکو خو
 رعیت پرور و نیکو جامی³ ز سختی دور بود آن خوش خصالی⁴
 همه دستور و بهدین چون بسنجان فرود آمد ز سختی گشته خوشجان 150
 ابا تحفه⁵ و تزله⁶ بیشماران برفت دستور پیش رای رایان
 دعا کرده برای نیک فرجام بده در کشور خود جای آرام
 غریبانیم و مسکین ای نیکو رای درین کشور بده مارا تو ماوانی
 ز بهر دین شده مایان پراگند شنیدستم که رای هست در هند
 غریبان را نوازش میکند او رعایا⁷ را بدارد جمله نیکو⁸ 155
 که این اخبار مایان چو شنیدیم بسی خوشدل شده اینجا رسیدیم
 از آن در کشور تو آمدستیم بامیدت که از جد دین بزستیم⁹
 چو این گفتار شنیده نیکو رای شده خرسند و خرم آن بیموجای
 نظر افکند بر دستور دانا سراپا دید او را از توانا¹⁰
 نامل کرد و در دل گشت پر بیم ز بهر تاج و تخت خود شده تیم¹⁰ 160
 چو دیدش قد و صورت را بترسید بدل پزمرده گشت و باز پرسید

1 More rapidly. 2 Jāmāli = amiable. 3 Khisāli = good-mannered. 4 Tuhfa = excellent gift. 5 Nuzl = gift.

6 Rāāyā = subjects. 7 We read, on the margin across couplets 145 to 158, the following note in Gujarati: શિવજી ૭૭૨ માં સરાવન વદ ૯ ને જુદે શિવજીમાં આજેઆ દત્ત.

8 From رستن to be liberated. 9 Tawāna = able.

10 Nim = half i.e. half dead with fright.

نخست دین شما بینم درینجا وزان پس من دهم ملاوی و ملجا¹
 جوابش داد آب دانای دستور به بین دین بهی ای رای مسرور²
 درین ملک مشو رنجیده از ما بدی هرگز نیاید از من اینجا
 همه کس ما شما را یار باشیم زهر سو دشمنت را تیغ باشیم
 بدان ای رای ما یزدان پرستیم ز دروندان³ بلطف تو برستیم
 غریب و بیکسانیم⁴ ای نیکو کام ز نسل پاک شه جشید خوشنام
 که همواره خور و ماه را پرستیم دگر کاوان و آب و آتشان هم
 هران نعمت که در گیتی پدیداست نمازش میکنم از خود که دید است
 دگر هر رسم و راه دین زرتشت بجادی رانه گفت آن نیک خوشمت⁵
 170 چو بشنیده همه این رای رایان بدان دستور گفت ای نیک⁶ جابان
 نظر در شهر من کن ای نیکو نام پسندت این زمین آید بآرام
 که دستوران و بهدینان بیکبار پسندیدند ارض را بناچار
 چون موبدان و بهدینان زمین دید خوشی گشتند همه از جان پسندید

1 Malja = place of refuge. 2 Masrur = happy.

3 Av. dravant = Here used for the Arabs from whom they had to flee. 4 Bi-kasân, helpless.

5 Perhaps miswritten for حشمت hashamat, pcmp, magnificence. If taken to be khushmat, mat means syrup; so the word may mean pleasant, sweet-natured.

6 Perhaps from jāh = dignity; nek-jāyân = man of good position, or perhaps from sâdan to be born, i.e. of good birth. The Parsees use words like mae jāyo માએ જાયો, i.e. mother-born for 'brother'.

175 مر اور اہام سہنجان گفت دستور بسان ملک ایران ساخت پر نور

همه دستور و بهدین از دل و جان شده مسکن^۱ در آنجا شاد و خندان

چه خوش جا بود ای مردان بهدین نبوده مثل او در هند همچین

ازان روزش نهادم نام سنجان شده معروف ازان ایام سنجان

بماندند آن همه با شادی و ناز ز جان و دل همه گشتند همراز

180 همه مردان دین رفتند یکی روز بنزد جادی رانه با دل سوز

وِرا دستور دانا گفَت ای رای بَهرت داد مارا جای و ماوای

همیخواهیم کنون در کشور تو که سازیم آتش بهرام مینو

رضای تو شود گر در چنین کار کنیم اینکار را از لطف دادار

همنگه رای رخت داده آنرا هرا بجای پسند آید شما را

185 بسی خوشنود هستم من ازینکار مراد^۲ نان رساند پاک دادار

پس آنکه آن ردان و موبدان هم یکی ماواى بگزیده در اندم

در اینجا کار آتش ساز کرده همه ارویسگاه^۹ آغاز کرده

بدانجا موید دانا یزشخوان' شدند جمله ز لطف پاک یزدان

که جمله کار خانهای بهدین فتاده بد بدست مرد جدیدین

190 دو موبد را ز هندوستان فرستاد بسرحد ولایت رفت آن راد

همه آلات آوردند از انجا بنزدیک ردان و موبدان ها
 عمل¹ کردند بآن آلات دستور که آورده بُد از ایران پُر نور
 چو از شهر خراسان همچنین ساز که آوردند آن یاران بخود باز
 برسم دین زرتشت سفتمان بکرده کار آتش نیک مردان
 195 شده مرتب نیکو آتش وره رام نشانیده ورا دستور خوشنام
 در انجاگاه همه دستور و بهدین یکی جشن بسازیده نیکو دین
 بدینان سال سیصد شد بسنجاف ازان چند مردمان از حکم یزدان
 پراکنده شدند چو بازن خویش ملک هند هر جانب کم و بیش
 بسبائکالیر بعضی کس برفتند کسان در جانب پهروچ بتفتند
 200 کسان در شهر اوکلیسر روانشد کسان در بلد کنبایت دوانشد
 کسان در شهر نوساری بخوشروی ابارخت آمدند جله نیکو خوی
 همه مردم برفتند بهر آرام بهرجا که رسیدند مانده ما دام
 مانده جای خود کرده چو هر کس نبوده خوف شان را چو از ائیس
 یکی روز آن همه دانای سنجان جمع گشتند و بستند عهد² از جان
 205 کنیم تقسیم مایان این همه جای که هر جا هست بهدینان خوشرای

1 On the left margin of the page, beginning with this couplet
 192 and ending with the couplet 203, we find the above
 note written cross-wise in Gujarati: "શિવત ૧૭૭૩ માં
 રેલો ૬ મા. ૬ આતશિયેરાંમ તખતતશીત કીધાં હતી." Couplet
 192 was written in our Ms. by mistake as couplet 190,
 but, though retained in its wrong place, it is cancelled
 by placing ///// such cancelling-marks over the line.

2 Abd = covenant, treaty.

همه جا را بکرده پنج تقسیم نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان هیم¹
 که حد او بود ای مرد خوشطور ز رود یار تا آت رود دنتور
 همه بهدین که چون در حد سنجان بحکم موبدان باشند با جانب
 دیگر تقسیم نوساری همیدان بداده موبدان را از دل و جان
 210 ز رود یار تا آت رود بریاو همه نوساریان را اندران تاو²
 مجال³ کس نباشد اندرینجا همه در حد خود سازند ملجا⁴
 گو کوداره بدان تقسیم سیوم ژ بریاو تا اوکلیسرای نیکو بوم⁵
 کنند آنجا همه کوداریان کار بجان و دل همه موبد شوند یار
 تو تقسیم چهارم ای نیکو دان بدان بهروج که گویم حد و پیمان
 215 ز اوکلیسر که تا کنبایت دانی همه سرحد بهروجیان بدانی
 و دان تقسیم پنجم ای نیکو مرد بگویم تا شود معلوم ای رد
 که کنبایت بگفته مرد دانا بدینسان کرد قسمت شهر و ماوا⁶
 همه دانای سنجان اینچنین کار بکرده تا نباشد کین و بیکار
 چنان هر شهر و جارا کرده تقسیم همه موبد شده دل شاد و بی بیم
 220 که جای یکدگر دخلی نسازیم همه بر جای خود بگرفته نازیم
 برین ترتیب نوشته کرد هر یک بجای خود بیامد موبد نیک
 همه موبد درون شهر سنجان بدینسان کرده با هم قول و پیمان
 پس آنکه موبدان هرجائی رفتند بشوق جان و دل ماوا گرفتند

1 Haim=turning the face towards i.e. direction, side.

2 Tāv = power. 3 Majāl = power. 4 Maljā = security,
resting place

5 Bām = nature, disposition.

6 Māvā = place of resort.

ز بعد چند سال آن ملک سنجان کرو¹ گشته بدست شه فرمان
 225 روزا نگشته بسنجان دوران شاه بترسیدند همه دانای خوشراه
 بنوساری نوشت يك نامه اینان بسی تنگیست² بر ما ای غریزان
 لهذا³ ما بخواهیم از شما یان ده⁴ بلسار بدهند نيك رایان
 چو دانایان نوساری ازینکار شنودند و جمع گشتند یکبار
 همه قوم بهگریه⁵ ده بلسار بسنجانان سپرد و گشت درکار
 230 چو هر کس یافته آرام هر جای⁶ بناها ساخته شاف کرد ماوای
 ازانیس چو گذشته آن دو صد سال بشادی بگذرانیدند و خوشحال
 درانوقت اندرون شهر سنجان زموبدان بماندند خانه چندان
 بدینسان سال هفتصد یزد جردی گذشته بود بدان ای نيك مردی
 که ناگه بروهان آمد جهان تنگ قضای آسمانی کرد آهنگ
 235 يکا يك شد خبر با رای خوشنام که در هند آمده مردان اسلام
 چو بشنید این خبر را جای سنجان بغم افتاد و دل در گشت ویران
 یکی شاه پدید آمد ابا ساز درون هند آمد کرده بس ناز
 و را سلطان محمود خواندندی رعایا در خوشی بس ماندندی
 و را معلوم گشته بعد چند سال سوی سنجان یکی رایست خوشحال
 240 وزیر را بگفت آنشه یکی روز الفغان نام دان ای مرد بهروز

1 Girav gashta = being pawned, deposited, pledged. Guj.
 ॐॐॐ.

2 Tangi ast = There is hardship. 3 Lihâzâ = therefore.

4 Deh = village. 5 Bhagarieh.

6 Banâ = foundation.

و را گفت سوی سنجان شو ابا ساز پیر لشکر از اینجا تو بکن¹ ناز
 بکن جنگ و جدل² با لشکر رای بگیر آن ملک را از دست راجائی³
 بحکم شه الفغان نگون بخت بیرون آمد ابا لشکر ابا رخت
 از اینجا که همه لشکر کشیده برای جنگ سنجان چون رسیده
 خبر گشته ابا راجای سنجان که آمد لشکر اسلام چندان
 که آمد سی⁴ هزار آن مرد جنگی بسنجان کرده است بر راه نشکی
 ازین اخبار گشته رای مدهوش⁵ ز بعد چند ساعت گشت باهوش
 همو وقت خوانده مردان دین را همه بهدین و موید شد ابر با
 همه را گفت ای دانا و کریز⁶ ز بهر آن که من گشتم عاجز
 250 که آبابم شما را جای داده بشهر خود همه کس را نهاده
 درین وقت کار مشکل آدمم لیک⁷ بهمراهتی ما باشید یک یک
 که احسان نیا گانم به بینید ز بهر جنگ دشمن تیغ بندید
 همه یک دل شده پاسخ بداده مکن اندیشه بس ای رایزاده
 که مایان نا که در تن جان بداریم ز آهنگ عدو رو پس نیاریم
 255 چنان از جنگ دشمن ما نبازیم⁸ همه بد خواه را ویران بسازیم

1 Make a show of army. Lit. make blandishments.

2 Raja = king.

3 Madhush = amazed, thunderstruck. If read with a nukta below, it may be bad-hush; or the word may have been mis-written for bi-hush, fainted.

4 Guriz "The leader of an army," i.e. brave.

5 Another form of Arab. lākin; but, notwithstanding.

6 Bakhtan, to lose at play; khdaashra bakhtan, to betray oneself, to lose countenance.

چو این گفتار بشنید آن نیکورای همه را خواص خلعت داد و¹ ماوای
 دران ایام چندان بود بهدین شمرند و جمع گشتند چندین
 هزار و چهار صد مردان² بیکار جمع گشتند بهر جنگ یکبار
 چو بهدینان بمیدان صف کشیده ز بهر جنگ اسلامان رسیده
 260 بسی جنگ و جدل شد در میان شان کسی نشنیده بد اندر زمان سان
 درینجا مختصر کردم همه جنگ که بر بهدین چنان کشته جهان تنگ
 سپاه³ رای و جمله مرد به نام تباہ گشتند همه در جنگ اسلام
 شده تاراج همه ماوای سنجان سما⁴ برگشته بد بر مرد چندان
 چو کشته شد دران جنگ رایزاده برزم اندر بسی غوغا فتاده
 265 دریغا همچنان مردان بهدین بکشته شد بدست مرد جد دین
 بدان ای مردم دانا و عاقل به بین این گردش افلاک کامل
 مشو مغرور بر کار زمانه نخواهد ماند با کس جاودانه
 همه بهدین از اینجا کشته ویران دگر دانای موبد هم بدینسان
 یکی کوه بلند چون بهاروتش نام همه کس رفته آنجا بهر آرام
 270 ده و دو سال مانده اندرانجا بحکم داور بیچون و یکتا
 پس از مدت همه مردان دانا بسوی بان شده آمد از اینجا
 بیاورده مرآت آتش و رهرام بشهر⁵ بان شد کردند آرام
 همه بهدین و موبد کشته باهوش بدل خوش گشت و غم را کرد فرموش⁶

1 Māwā = refuge.

2 Miswritten for بیکار battle. Pahl. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥.

3 Sama = heaven; dignity, culminating point. Cf. Guj. समेत

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥. 4 For بانده 5 Farmush = forgetfulness.

بران بگذشت شان را چهارده سال همه دانا شدند از دور خوشحال
 275 ذران ایدم یکی بهدین به داف دیدم آمد بودی کس بدینسان
 که دیندار و نیکو خوی و خصال¹ غریبان پرور و نیکو جامی²
 که نامش شاه چانکا ابن آسا بدان خوشدل درین دنیای خواصا³
 بنوساری متوطن گرفته به راه کج روی هرگز نرفته
 یک روز آن نیکو بهدین خوشنام باتش گاه رفت ز اینجا بآرام
 280 ز بنوساری بشهر بانسده رفت ز بهر خدمت آتش کده رفت
 ابا خود برد مردان نیکو نام برای خدمت آتش ورهرام
 ز دیدارش همه کس خوش بودند به پیشش بس پرستش مینمودند
 ز درگاهش همه مرد نیکو خوی همی آمد بنوساری ز ره پوی⁴
 و زانپس آن همه با شادی و ناز بخانه خود همه رفتند با ساز
 285 چو چندین ماه بران بگذشت آنجا پس آن بهدین که نامش چنگه آسا
 بدل بیت بکرد آن نیک بینا بیارم من ورهرام آتش اینجا
 که جله انجمن را خواند یک روز بنزدیک خود آن مرد نیکو روز
 همه کس را بگفت آن نیک فرجام بیارم من بنوساری ورهرام
 ازین خوشتر چه باشد ای عزیزان رویم در بانسده با خوش تمیزان⁵
 290 بیارم آتش مینو از آنجا بنوساری بسازم جای و ماوا
 ز گفتارش همه بهدین و موبد شده خشنود و گشته دور از بد

1 Khisāli = of good manners. 2 Jamāli = amiable.

3 Khivās = qualities. Cf. Guj. ४११२. This world of various different qualities. 4 Pāt = moderate pace, trot.

5 Tamiz = discernment; determination.

همه موبد بچانگا شاه گفتند میان ما و ایشان هست سوگند
 که جای یکدیگر هرگز نستازیم بحد خود پیانده کار سازیم
 نیا کالیم نوشت خوانی بکرد است که هرگز کس بجای کس نرفت است
 شما آنرا بنوساری میآرند مر آن سنجانه آتش را پیارند 295
 شنید آن چنگه شاه نیک بهدین بگفته جمله موبد را بدان این
 بر ایشان رنج و سختی هست بسیار مر ایشان را نه کس آنجا خریدار
 بنا بر من روم شاف را بیآرم براه راست هر دو را سپارم
 که با هم نشود جنگ و جدای نیاید هر دو آنرا بی رضای¹
 همه موبد شدند خرم ازین کام ابا چانگا برفتند نزد وهرام² 300
 پس آنکه آن نیکو بهدین چانگا بکرده موبدان را این دلاسا
 ز گفتارش همه چون شاد گشتند بسوی بانسده در راه رفتند
 بهمره برد آن مردان دانا ز بهر بودن آتش از انجا
 چو چانگا با همه مردان بهدین رسید در بانسده با مرد چندین
 بنوساری همه را آوردند ابا آتش همه مردان رسیدند 305
 یکی خوشخانه خالی بکرده وهرام آتشی را جای کرده
 پرستنده بودند او را سه موبد بهمراهی آتش بود آن رد
 چو آن بودند روز و شب پرستار بروهر که موکل³ بود آن یار
 یکی را نام ناکن رام دانی ازان چون یافته او شاد مانی
 دگر موبد که نامش بود خورشید پدر بودش قیامالدین جاوید 310
 سیوم موبد که چاندان ابن سایر بخدماتش⁴ همیشه بود ظاهر

1 Riza = agreement, acquiescence, leave. 2 For Varahrām.

3 Mu'kal = appointed guardian. 4 Pl. of khedmat, service.

ابا فرزند و زن آمد بد انسان بهمراهی خود آورد با جان
 بنوساری رسیدند آن سه موبد خوشی گشتند در دل آن نکوزد
 بهمراهش بسی مردان بهروز ز بهر خدمت بهرام فیروز
 315 سنه که یزد جردی را بدانی هشتاد و پنج بر هفتصد¹ بخوانی
 دران هنگام آب بهدین دانا بیاورده ورهرا² آتش اینجا
 پس آنکه آن نکو دین شاه چانکا بطلبیدند پهکریه را در اینجا
 وزانپس هر سه سنجان را به طلبید که بیش آتش بهرام بودید
 بهر سه را بگفت آن چنگه شاه این پذیرید از من این گفتارها این³
 320 که ای دانا و عاقل فاضل و نام شما اینجا بکرده جای و آرام
 که سرحد شما مانده بسنجان کنون آمد بنوساری همیدان
 همه جا را بکردست پنج تقسیم لیاکان شما بی ترس و بی بیم
 لهذا من شما را این بگویم ز جنگ یکدیگر را من بشویم
 ورهرا² آتشی را کار و خدمات کنید همواره روز و شب بحاجات
 325 سوای کار این هرگز نه دیگر نباید کرد ای دانا ی خوشتر
 شبان و روز در خدمات آتش ببايد بود ای مردان پاکش³
 دگر کاریکه مرد و زندگان را در اینجا که بباشد مر شما را

1 Somebody has given on the margin, the Hijra year as 798. We read: श्रवत् १४७५ नः शैव २६ भा० १ (this figure may be read as five also) सने ७८८ हीजरी आया ३ सु६ ५ ने शुधे नैशरी लाया ६८१.

2 Hayin at times for ayin, rite, custom. Read as such for its Pahlavi form. (*Vide* above p. 9, n. 10.) The sense is: Hear my various words. 3 Pakish = purification.

همه دستور موبد بنوساری چنین کار بخوانند کردای مردان دیتدار
 یندان قومش بهکریه ای نکودان کنند کاریکه مرد و زندگان تان
 330 همه سنجانه راضی شد درینکار نبشت خوان¹ کرده داد از راست کردار
 همه سنجان و دیگر بهکریه هم شدند زینکار هر دو شاد و خرم
 بدینگونه چو چندین سال بگذشت بیس آن سنجانیان از راه برگشت
 که بر قول نیاگانان² نرفته بنوساری جدل بر پای کرده
 همه بهدینان را بر غلاید³ ز مهر آن بهکریه باز مانید
 335 ابا بهدین شده سنجانه یکدل بنوساری شده زان کار مشکل
 بهکریه را ابا بهدین شده جنگ میان هر دو ان شد جنگ و آهنگ⁴
 دران جنگ هر دو جانب گشته گشتند شدند عاجز همه کس باز گشتند
 همه بهدین بسورت رفت فریاد که ای حاکم ستان از مستمند داد
 همراه دیساهیان سورت شدند فریاد با آواز کدورت⁵
 340 جاصل⁶ را فرستادند نواب بنوساری روید با توش⁷ و شتاب
 همه کس را گرفته زود آرید مگر اینکار را بازی مداوید
 جاصل چو شنیدند این ز نواب بنوساری بیامد نیز بشتاب
 بسی ادهار و آراشان گرفتند بسوی شهر سورت تیز بردند

1 Agreement = lit. written reading or written tablet.

2 If غلاید, it is from غل ghull, fostering enmity; hatred.

3 Ahang = preparation (for fight). For a free continuous translation of the poem from couplet 335 to couplet 370 *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 74-78.

4 Kudurat = resentment. 5 The proper word is باسول yasawal, a policeman. 6 Tosh = power, strength.

همه کس را رجوع کردند بحاکم بماند آنجا همه مردان پاکم
 345 یکی بهمدین نیکو نام و نکو حال بسورت بود درانوقت ای نکو فال
 که نامش مودی گنورجی بدانی بجنّت میکند او شادمانی
 دیگر ادهاروان سورنیه هم به بیش مودی آمد جله با غم
 ابا مودی برقتند در عدالت به نزد حاکم نکو جمالت
 دران مجلس شده انصاف نکو فراوان غور¹ کرد مودی خوشخو
 350 بگفته آن نیکو نواب خوش رنگ که باهم کرده اند سر مردوان جنگ
 ازان از هر دو جانب کشته گشتند ز خون کس بکس هرگز نه جستند
 بدینان در عدالت عدل و انصاف شده چو از ره نیکی و الطاف
 همه کس را رهانیدند از آنجا برفته جله هر جا بهر² ماوا
 پس آنکه چو همه بهمدین دیگر بار که وارونی³ بکرده از ره تار⁴
 355 خلاصی داد همه ادهارو آنرا ازیشان ده و دو بگرفته آنجا
 مران ده و دو موبد را فرستاد بزندان و اسیرش کرد بزراد
 بسی مدت دران زندان بماندند مران نکو سرگرد آن بماند
 پس آن بهمدین مران نکو ظلم کرد همه کس را بگفت ای پاکدین مرد
 یکی بنوشته کرده دهید ما را بهر موبد شوند راضی شما را
 360 هرات موبد پسند خاطر آید کنائید کار خود را او گراید

1 Ghaur = benefit, doing good. 2 Mawā = abode.

3 'Vārāni, a wrongful (inverted upside down) act.

4 Tār, dark.

5 Zarād = a rope.

بدینگونه نوشت خوان کرده دادند بدست آن همه بهدین نهادند
 درانوقت مبلغات خرج کردند همه بهدین بجان و دل بگردند
 وزانپس ده و دو موبد رهانید همه بهدین شده مغرور و مانید¹
 پس آنکه جمله بهدینان بیکبار بنوهارای شدند و کشت در کار
 365 هران موبد که چو در بند بودند برستند و بنوساری رسیدند
 همه سنجانه موبد خوش بکشتند که فتح و نصرت² بهدین شدند
 همه سنجانه در دل همچنین خواست کند بهدین ابر دایان شدند راست
 پس آنکه آن همه موبد بهکریه شنیدند این خبر از هر محلیه³
 چنان سنجانه موبد را بگفتند که کرکار همه بهدین ما چند⁴
 370 کنند تا در میان تان و مایان شوند جنگ و جدل بیحد و پایان
 بنابر دست بردارید ازینکار که باهم قضیه و جنگ نبود جار⁵
 پس آن سنجانه¹ در دل فکر کردند که به بودی ازینکار آن نبردند
 همه بهدینان را گفت سنجان که کار تان نباشد از ما آسان
 پس آنکه چو همه سنجان و بهدین چنین منصوبه کرد از رای خود این
 375 بکنی موبد مینوچهر هوجی اش نام بطلبیدش قریبش داد ازینکام
 جدا کرد از گروه بهکریه هم شده بیقول و رور کرد پر غم
 شدند یک دل ابا بهدین و سنجان همه در کار و بارش گشت به جان
 که سابق کار مرده و زنده سنجان بهکریه جمله میکردند با جان

1 Manid = sin, fault. Manidan = to err, to forget.

2 Nusrat = victory.

3 Mahalla = quarter, street.

4 Machand = acquire; lit. kiss, from machidan to = kiss.

5 Jar for jâr = continuous.

درین بابت حقیقت هست بسیار کنم طولش¹ شود خواننده بیزار
 380 لهذا قصه را کوتاه بکردم که قاری² را شود آسان بهردم
 پس از راوی³ شنیدم این بیانش چو چندین سال رانده این عیانش⁴
 چنین وارز⁵یها سنجانه انداخت همه بهدین را برگشته و کاشت⁶
 همه نیکو پیکریه گشت محروم شدند و وارث⁷ و بی توش⁸ و بی نوم⁹
 بدرگاه خدا همواره میخواست که ای دادار کار مان بکن راست
 385 بکن رحم ای خدایا بر نیکویان همه بهدین شوند برمان چو جوئیان¹⁰
 خدایا رحم کن بر بی¹¹ و رانان همه بهدین شوند بر ما خوش آسان
 از انیس مدتی از حکم دادار بنوساری شده یک در¹² پدیدار
 بدان نامش دیساهی نیک خورشید نیکو چهر و نیکو اخصال¹³ چو شید¹⁴
 همه جاهست نامش نیک مشهور الهی دار ویرا شاد و پر نور
 390 خدا داده مر او را عقل روشن ز هوش خود بکرده حل¹⁵ همه فن
 چنان در قوم موبدان دانا بدینسان دَر داده آن خدا یا

1 Taul = length; prolixity; verbosity. 2 Qari = reader.

3 Râvi = historian, narrator. 4 'Iyân = manifestation.

5 Wrongs. 6 Kâshtan = to turn away.

7 Wares = lord or master; also heir.

8 Tâsh = food. 9 Nâm = sleep.

10 Juyâu = seekers, supplicants, i.e. May it be so that the Behedins may come to us seeking our aid.

11 Bi-Warâsan = helpless, left without inheritance.

12 Durr = pearl, i.e. great man.

13 Khasâl = manners. 14 Shid = sun.

15 Hal = solving, untying (fann = deceits).

گروه موبدان بهکریه را شده آب از نیکو خورشید پیدا
 دران مدت بنوساری یکی راو که کنکاجی بود نامش ابا تاو¹
 به پیش آن نیکو سردار دانا همه بهدین شده فریاد آنجا
 395 ز بهر موبدان بهکریه هم کم و افزون سخن گفته به پرغم
 همه موبد بهکریه را بطلبید بنزد راو کنکاجی به دید
 دران مجموع دیساهی نیک خورشید بسی پاسخ بداد از راه امید
 دران مجلس بسی گشته² محاکا ابا بهدین برگرد پی محابا³
 متین⁴ گشته علمهای بهکریه بمانده ست همه بهدین خضیه⁵
 400 نزد راو کنکاجی سردار بسی گفته مران خورشید اظهار⁶
 بدان ای نیک دل سردار مایان که هستند این همه بهدین بجایان⁷
 مرید ما همه هستند بهدین که برگشتند از ما جمله این بین
 ز گفت این همه سنجانه موبد فریبیده شدند بهدین از بد
 بدینگونه بسی گفته در آنجا که حیران ماند جمله مرد دانا
 405 همه بهدین بکشته عاجز و زار خوش گشته چنان از راست گفتار
 همه گفتار او چون راو بشنید بدل اندر گذارید و پسندید

1 Tav = strength, power. 2. Muhâka = relating, telling,
i.e. discussion. If read with ق, contention.

3 Muhaba = showing respect, connivance.

4 Matin, firm. 5. For خضیه = terrified.

6 Izhar = statement. 7 Bajayan, *i.e.* those who stick to
 place *i.e.* obstinate. Or it may mean "those who are
 in their right place *i.e.* correct, (but, as said below,
 they are misled by Sanjana priests)."

که حق واجبی چو میرسد این پهلریه را بدان ای مرد بهدین
 چو در مجلس بگفت آن نیک سردار باواز بلند و خوب گفتار
 دران مجلس دیسایان هندو نسته بد همه از راه بد خو
 410 دگر دانا و عاقل هم درانجا به بدند آن بنزد راو کنکا
 که و مه جله بهدین هم بیودند پهلریه هم دران یکسر بیودند
 دران مجلس بگفت آن راو سردار باواز بلند و نیز گفتار
 که بهدینان یکسر در نوساری مرید پهلریه اند دایم جاری
 میان شان بدینگونه بسی گفت همه بهدین شده روزرد و بی جفت
 415 دران مجلس نیکو سردار خورشید بگفته راو را تو باش جاوید
 که پیش از تو بسی سردار بودند کسی انصاف مایان را نکردند
 بکردی راست انصاف از نیکو رای که محرومان² رسیدند بر سر جای
 مرادمان چنین است ای خداوند همه بهدین نوشته کرده بدهند
 نوشت خوان کرده شان بدهند ما را که هر کاریکه مرد و زندگان را
 420 بدست موبدان پهلریه ها کنایم ما همه بهدین بدلهها
 دگر نیز اینچنین بنویسد از جان مرید پهلریه هستیم با جان
 بدینگونه نویسنده کار مایان شوند مربوط³ و خوب ای نیکرایان
 چو راو نیک بشنید این ز خورشید دلاسه خوب داد او را ز امید
 ز بعدش جله بهدین را بخوانند دران مجلس بنزد خود نشاندند
 425 باواز بلند گفت ای عزیزان پهلریه را شان گشتند مریدان

1 Bi-juft, = without a pair or a match, i.e. helpless.

2 Mahrûman = the disappointed.

3 For مضبوط strong, or for مربوط bound ; fastened.

یکی بنوشته باید کرد اینجا نکردیم از بهکریه موبدان ما
 دگر نیز اینچنین بنوشته باید که هرکاریکه مرد و زنده آید
 بهکریه موبدان یکسر کنند این بران هستیم راضی جله بهدین
 همه بهدین ز کنه کاجی چو بشنید همو وقت کاغذ آورد و نوشتید
 430 بدین گونه همه بهدین نوشت خوان بکرد و داده بردست نکویان
 مریدان این نوشته کرده دادند بدست موبد نکو نهادند
 نوشت خوانی همه موبد بدیدند خوشی کشتند و شادیاها گزیدند
 بران کاغذ همه کس شاهی کرد که و مه هرکه بد در مجلس مرد
 دیساهیاف هندو هم گواه کرد بران کاغذ نیکو ای پاکدین مرد
 435 که کاغذ شد مرتب چو ز گفتار بدست بهکریه دادند اظهار
 همه موبد بهکریه خوش به بودند نکو سردار خورشید را ستودند
 بهکریه شد منور چو ز خورشید دعا کرده همه کس باش جاوید
 که نوساری ازو گلزار گشته ز اقبالش اشو هوشیار گشته
 ابا دودمان ورا داری تو خرم خدا یا دار ویرا شاد و بی غم
 440 همیشه جلوه¹ مندی بر کروهان که میدارد نیکو خورشید باجان
 ز کارش جله بهدین هم خوشی شد که جنگ و² هنگ همه زان برطرف شد
 شده اجرا³ همه کار نکویان ابا بهدین خوشی کشته اشویان
 همه سنجانه شد زان زرد رویان شده کار بهکریه نیک خویان
 و زانپس در یکی روز آن نیکویا نام بدان نامش تو خورشید همچو گل فام

1 Splendour. 2 Hang, collision.

3 Ijra = performance.

445 همه موبد پهریه را بگفتند که کار ما شده بر راست خرسند
 یکی کار دیگر مانده درینجا که سنجانه کنند کار اندرینجا
 همه کس را بیاید زود گفتن که کار تان بنوساری نه سفتن¹
 همه کس همچنین منصوبه کردند و زانیس جمله سنجان را بگفتند
 که چو آبا و اجداد شما یابان برانده اند درینجا نیکسرایان
 450 بدینگونه شما هم حمله رانید هم از جنگ و جدل² هم بازمانید
 همه کاریکه مرد و زندکان تان بنوساری کنیم ای مرد چندان
 چو بشنید این همه سنجانه آواز در حیل و مکر را کرده شان باز
 پهریه را جواب این داد سنجان نوشت خوانی نیاگانیم بوده آن
 به بینیم و همه بر راه باشیم براه کج روی هرگز نیاشیم
 455 چون بشنید این پهریه ازدل و جان بر آوردند کاغذ جمله اینان
 همه سنجان نوشت خوانی بدیدند براه خود نیاگانان رسیدند
 براه کج روی هرگز نرفتند که آبا یابان برفته همچو گفتند³
 چو چندین روز رفتند بر ره راست یکی شیطان وارونی در انداخت
 همه سنجانیان را بر غلایند⁴ ز راه راست شان را بازمانید
 460 همه کس را بگفت آن زشت کردار شوید فریاد بر نزد صوبه دار
 که دامانجی بدان نامش توای یار نیکو عدل و لکو خصال و به کار
 همه افتاده سنجان در فریض نرسیدند از راه نهیش⁵

1 Siftan = to make strong. 2 Jadal = fight.

3 Taftan = to walk.

4 غلا Ghilla, to bid against; to

shoot with force.

5 Nahib = fear, terror, plundering.

همه موبد سنجانه برفتند بنزد راو دامانجی بتفتند
 بسونکر بود راو نیک فرجام همیشه بود ابا شادی و آرام
 465 بدرگاهش شده سنجانه فریاد که ای سردار از ما بستان¹ داد
 چو جمله کیضیات خود بگفتند که راو نیک همه در کوش سفند²
 ز بعدش بهکریه هم جمله یکبار ابا خورشید دیساهی رفت ناچار
 که خورشید هم بگفته راو دامان برفت و گفتگو کرده بسامان³
 ز یکسو جمله سنجانه دیگر سو که خورشید بودای مرد نکو خو
 470 جواب و بس سوائش در میان شان بنزد راو دامانجی خوش جان
 بسی در مجلس کرده محاکا که خورشید هم بگفته بی محابا
 چو کیضیات دوسویان راو بشنود بدل اندر گذاریدند و بنمود
 همه سنجانه موبد را بگفتند که از راه نیاکانه شما چند
 شما بر گشته از راه آیا⁴ که او رفتند براه راست اینجا
 475 که سرحد شایان ماند سنجان بنوساری نباید کرد زینسان
 بدینسان گفت دامانجی بانصاف ز راه نیک و وز راه خوب و صاف
 همه سنجانه بشنید از نیکو راو تفکر کرد و در دل گشت بی ناو⁵
 بدامانجی همه کس گفت از جان ابا آتش رویم مایان بسنجان
 چو شد حکمت رویم مایان به تقسیم⁶ بدان سرحد سنجان ای ا. ب. بیم

1 Setandan = to take.

2 Suftan = to pierce.

3 Saman = patince, understanding.

4 Aya = Is it not? 5 Tav = strength, splendour.

6 Taqaim = scattering, dispersing.

480 که دامانجی ز سنجانه چو بشنود سوی خورشید دیساهی زود بنمود
 که سنجانه بدین طور و بدینسان چو میگویند ای خورشید به جان
 جواش داد آن نیکو سرانجام که ای سردار مایان و نیکو نام
 که گر سنجانه مانند چون درینجا بران ره شان روند چو رفته آبا¹
 بنوساری بماتند این همه کس که کار² مرده و زنده میکنم پس
 485 و کر نه راه خود گیرند یکسر بسرحد خود این باشند بهتر
 چو راو نیک بشنید این ز خورشید مران سنجانه را نزدیک³ طلبید
 همه کس را بگفت این کیفیاتش ازان سنجانه گشته جمله ناخوش
 بسآواز بلند سنجانه گفتا نه مانیم ای نیکو سردار اینجا
 ابا آتش ورهرا³م نیکو نام رویم زینجا به تقسیم² اباکام
 490 یکی پروانه باید داد مارا کسی مانع نباشند اندر اینجا
 چو راو نیک پروانه بکرده بدست جمله سنجانات سپرده
 همو لحظه³ ز سوتکر در نوساری بیامد جمله سنجانه بخواری
 سنجانه جمله بستند رخت و اسباب برای رفتن بلسار بشتاب
 بروز جامیاد و مه سفندار ز نوساری برفت سنجانه اظهار
 495 سنه از یزد جردی يك الف خوان بران یکصد و نه افزای به دان
 دران روز جمله سنجانه برفتند ز نوساری بده بلسار تفتند
 چو سنجانه ابا آتش به بلسار رسیدند و شدند هرجای اخبار
 درانجا مانده ایشان دوسه سال ازانجا هم بیسته رخت و زد فال

1 Aba = forefathers. 2 Taqsim = dividing, dispersing.

3 -Hamu lahza = the same moment.

بیامد در اودواره جمله بیغم بیارئی نیکو راجای خرم
 500 که نامش دُرجه سنگ راجا بدائی خوشی کن ای نیکو¹ وز شادمانی
 ز بعدش آن نیکو خورشید سردار بنوساری بیامد گفت اظهار
 همه موبد پهمکریه را بگفتند که قضیه بر طرف شد ای نکو پند
 همه بهدین و موبد گشته هم یار خوشی و خرمی گشته ازینکار
 چو چندین سال بگذشتند زینان همه موبد شدند یک² قلب و یکسان
 505 ایا شاپور بشو هوشیار زین راز بزودی قصه آتش به پرداز
 مراد تان رساند پاک یزدان بهر جا که ترا باشد نگهبان
 خداوندا بکن یاری درینکام که سازم قصه آتش و رهرام

1 *Nekú vaz* = well-growing. *Vazidan* = to go Av. ^{داسی},
Pahl. 𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭭, *Skr.* वृद्ध, *Lat.* *veh-are*, *Fr.* *en-vo-yer*.

2 *Qalb* = heart, mind, soul.

۱ (قصه آتش ورهرام نوساری)

کنون بشنو نکو این قصه ای مرد بنام پاک دادار اشو فرد^۱

یکی روز موبدان و هیربدان هم شدند یکدل در انوقت شاد و خرم
بروز اردیبهشت و ماه میمون که فروردین فرخ بود همچون

جمع گشتند یکسر موبدان پاک همه دستور و هیربد هم خوره ناک^۲

سر سرور دیساهی بود خورشید که او هم آمده در دل پز امید

دیگر بهدین و جمله نیک رایان بنوساری بدندی کدخدایان

همه یکسر برفتند در در مهر ز بهر میزد^۳ رقتون^۴ جمله خوشچهر

همه موبد شدند فارغ ازینکار دعاها خواست جمله بیش دادار

پس آنکه گفت با خورشید دیندار که باید کرد ما را اینچنین کار

که در دورت کنیم آتش ورهرام ازان باشد ترا تا جاودان نام

فرضیه هست بر مردان بهدین مهر شهریکه بهدینست چندین

ورهرام آتش آنجا کرد باید که کار شان در آنجا بهتر آید

1 The writer himself has not written the heading, though he kept some space vacant, perhaps, with a view to write the heading.

2 Incomparable, unique; God. 3 Khureh-nak = full of splendour. 4 Av. 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀, an assembly for the performance of religious ceremonies; a Jashan.

5 Raftwan = Rapithwan.

520 همه از يك دل و يكجفت گفتند در معنی درین اخبار سفتند
 پس آنكه نيك دل سردار خورشید بگفته با همه كس راز امید
 كه من نیز اینچنین درد دل شب و روز همیخواهم درین درگاه فیروز
 اگر رای شاهست در چنین كار شوم حاضر كنون هروقت و كه یار
 همه دستور و موبد این شنودند بران سرور دعاها می نمودند
 525 بخوانده تندرستی از دل و جان كه سازیم آتش بهرام مایان
 شده متفق همه از كار و بارش كه نسخه آورید از اوزوارش¹
 درین ایام دستوران دستور كه نام او بود سهراب پُر نور
 كه نسل اوست از دستور ماهیار بدانی باب آن رانا نيكو كار
 همیشه دین به را جلوه داده كنهگران نكو تر شد زیاده
 530 بنزدك شاه اكبر رفته بد او بسی برهان دین ظاهر بكرد او
 كه نام او همه جاهت ظاهر مران دستور بد او پاك و طاهر
 همه نسخات پازند پهلوی بود بر آورده ز دفتر خانه زود
 دگر دستور برزو ابن داراب خدا دادست او را علم با آب
 بر آورده ز نسخات گرامی یکی نسخه بخط فرس خوانی
 535 سیوم دستور بد جمشید جاماسب بسی عقل است او را همچو جاماسب
 چو دستور چهارم مانكش نام كه بابش بود جمشید نيكو كام

1 Uzvaresh (وزوارش) "Uzvaresh, a term applied to Pahlavi, and usually written Zvārish by Persian writers" (Vide Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd ed. by West, p. 42. Vide West, S.B.E., Vol. V, Introd. p. XIV).

که او کرده بخت جای آرام خدایادر گروئنان دار مادام
 بدانانـش از مهبیار رانا سر سرور بدان دستور دانا
 همه دستور و موبد جمع بدند مران نسخه بخورشید می نمودند
 540 که ای سردار مایان این به بینید میان بر دین یزدان سخت بندید
 چو آن نسخه بدیده نیک سردار بسی خشنود گشت و گفت اظهار
 ز ایران آمدست این نسخه نام بسازیم ما ازین آتش وهرام
 چنین گفتند ایا موبد و دستور بسی خشنود گشت و شاد و معمور
 دعاها کرد بر خورشید بسیار که قایم بادای سردار دیندار
 545 پدر باشد ورا همور نامی که او کردست در جنت مقامی
 بسی بر مردمان احسان رسانید ز باج خانگی شاف را رها نید
 زو دستور و موبد یافت رونق شده باطل نهان پیدا شده حق
 خداوند ا مران سردار نامی بداری بر سر مایان کرامی
 خدا دادست او را نیک فرزند که نام او مینوچهر است و دل بند
 550 اوستا را همیشه دوست دارد براه راست تن را میسپارد
 بنوساری همیشه باد قایم بدارد شهر را آباد ذایم
 پس انکه آن نیکو نام و نیکوکار بطلبیده همه مردان دیندار
 همه دستور و موبد را بگفتند که بنویسیم همه ما یان نامه چند
 پراکنده شود این کار مایان که هر جا هست بهدین نیکرایان
 555 شود معلوم مر آنرا حال و احوال که میسازیم آتش را. بدینحال
 نوشتند کاغذ و هر جا فرستند یکی در شهر سورت هم نوشتند

1. Baj = duties, taxes. 2. Delband = attractive, lovely.

بسورت بود سرداران خوشنام یکی سرور بود نوشیروان نام
 پدر باشد و را دانی تو بهمن بخت کرده است هاوای روشن
 که نسل او بدان از سیث رستم درین ایام بد او مرد حاطم
 560 ابا مردان دین کشته وفادار بسی جاه و جلالش داده دادار
 که از ایران به هند آمد بزرگان چون مردی نبوده در میان شان
 دویم مهتر که اسمش هست سهراب خدایا دار ویرا همچو مهر آب
 که همواره نیکوی بخش عالم مدامش دار اینجا شاد و سالم
 همه تبار و خواسان سیث گویند همیشه زو همه امید جویند
 565 بدانی نسل او از سیث رستم همه بد خواه خود را ساخت پرغم
 دویم سرور که نامش هست داراب که عریش سیث گویند جله با آب
 بهر جا نام نیکو فاش¹ گشتست بکار گرفته او رقا²ص گشتست
 بدانی نسل او از سیث رستم برادی و سخاوت همچو رستم
 که در ایام پیش او تاج بخش بود درین هنگام این هم میکند سود
 570 خداوندا در حفظ خود نگاهدار چو این داراب نامش در پناه دار
 تو سردار چهارم دان مینوچهر خداوندا بدار او را تو خوشچهر
 بود بابش نیکو خورشید نامی مدانیم میکند او شادمانی
 همه برنا و پیوان سیث گویند همیشه زو همه امید جویند
 مراد یکسان را او بر آرد براه راست کج را میسپارد
 575 که در فرزانی و عقل مشهور همه جا کشته نامش نیک پر نور
 دلیر است و جوانست و نیکوکار درین ایام پیدا کرده دادار

1 Fash = public known. 2 Quick = alert. Raqqas = a swift messenger.

چو بشنیدند همه سردار خوشنام که میسازند بنوساری و رهرام
 بسی خشنود گشتند چو ازینکار دعاها خواست اندر پیش دادار
 بسی خوشدل شده پاسخ نوشتند هران خرچیکه باید ما فرستند
 580 همیشه ما چنان امیدواریم بنوساری شود این کار و باریم
 دگر پهروچ و اوکلیسر ازینحال شده واقف همه از حال و احوال
 همین اخبار کنبایت رسیدند بسی خوشدل شدند بهدین شنیدند
 بشت نامه با جماع کوداره که بسته گشتیان این کار و باره
 شنیدند و خوشی گشتند از جان شده نازان و خندان از دل و جان
 585 یکی در شهر منجی نوشتند ازان بهدین و موبد خوشی شدستند
 چو پاسخ نامه آمد از هر اطراف که باید کرد اینکار از دل صاف
 که در ایام مایان این به بینم بقلب خود بصد شادی کزینم
 بنوساری شوند آتش و رهرام ازان دیوان شوند زین دهر کم نام
 چو پاسخ نامه خوانده در در مهر همه برنا و پیران گشتند خوشچهر
 590 پس آنکه سرور خورشید با آب بگفته با همان دستور سهراب
 بجلدئی تمام اینکار کردن هران چیزی که باید آن به بردن
 بنام قادر نیکو سر انجام کنید آغاز کار آن و رهرام
 چو بشنیده همان دستور خوشنام شده خشنود و جسته از خدا کام
 همان مسخات سامی را بر آورد که در یازند و فرس و بهلوی بود
 595 یکی نسخه بدید از خط داراب بد او دستور دانا و نیکو یاب
 از آن نسخه بکرده کار بهرام بران خشنود گشته جمله خوشنام
 یکی روز آنچنان چون عهد بستند همه برنا و پیران جمع گشتند

دران مجموع دیساهی جیوش نام هم او آمد بخوش رغبت و آرام
 که بابش بود مانک نیک سردار که ماوایش بخت داده دادار
 600 چو آن نسخه بخواند دستور سهراب شنودند و همه کشتند شاداب
 از آن نسخه همه کشتند ماهر همه ترتیب آتش بود ظاهر
 نوشته بد همه کیفیات آتش که باید شانزده آوردن آتش
 نخست آتش که سوزند مرده دروند ابا پیوند شود یکبار چيستند
 ز بعد آن دو موبد پاک و مرغوب ابا پوند شوندان¹ صاحب خوب
 605 یکی جای بود در حفظ و در بند دران جا گاه² نه کودال³ کنندند
 بوزن⁴ يك وجب⁵ طول⁶ و عرض آن بود ویدشت مرد سی سنه دان
 زیکدیگر جد⁷ کونه⁸ بکنندند چون نه کودال همگونه بکردند
 پس آنجا چیده⁹ آتش را بیارند بکو دال نخست اندر سپارند
 چو گردد سرو بردارد دیگر بار بگودال دویم بهند شود حار¹⁰
 610 چو زینسان برد باید تا¹¹ بنه جا نگهدارد بجای آخرین را
 پس آنکه بوی خوش بهند بر آتش ازان باشند دیوان جمله نا خوش
 نا آن آتش نهد بوی و ایسم نیز دگر خوشبوی باشد جلگی چیز
 پس آنکه آورند اندر در مهر برای یشتن یشت نیکو مهر¹²

1 The word is written twice by mistake in the Ms.

2 Kudâl = a ditch, hole. 8 Wazn = measure.

4 Wajab = a span; 9 inches. 5 Tul o arz = Length
and breadth. 6 Chidan = to gather. 7 Hâr = hot.

8 Yahr = desire, eagerness.

وزاپس موبد پاك و نيكوكار ده و پنج هنرداند مرد دیندار
 615 نود و يك يزشن پس در اندم¹ بر آن آتش كند آن موبدان هم
 چو آن آتش بچینند از يزشن شود فارغ بآن نيكو جهش²
 ز بعد آن بر آن آتش بفرمود سه وندید و يزشن سه كند زود
 به يزد آن بنام پاك اورمزد ببايد در كروثان خوره و مزد
 وزاپس تا بيكهاه يشته بايد كه وندیداد در شب خوانده شايد
 620 يزد از روز هورمزد تا انارام دو موبد دمبدم وندید مادام
 چو شد مرتب يكي آتش از ينكار بجای خوب و پاكيه ورا دار
 دران جاگه رود آن صاحب خوب ينامي ردهاں بندد باسلوب³
 شده طيار يك آتش تماي ازین مضمون⁴ بدان ای نيكنامی
 دويم آتش بيار از خانه رنگيريز⁵ ازین ترتيب چينند و كنند ويز⁶
 625 سيوم آتش بيارند از همای بدانی⁷ معنی⁸ وندید خوانی
 به هشتم کرده وندید ظاهر بگفته است با زرتشت طاهر⁹
 بدین ترتيب چیدن شانزده آتش ازان گشتند ديوان جمله ناخوش
 بکردم مختصر تا طول باشد دل قاری⁹ ازان مالول باشد
 اگر خواهی كه دانی اين حقيقت به بين معنی وندید از طريقت

1 In that breath, i.e. at that time.

2 Jahish = nature.

3 Ba aslub = according to method, proper order.

4 Mazmûn = sense, contents. 5 Rang-riz = a dyer.

6 Viz = pure. 7 M'any = efficacy. 8 Taher = body.

9 Qâri = reader.

630 حقیقتهای آتش قصه چند بخوان در بهلوی و فرس و پازند
 شود معلوم از آن نسخات انعام که همچو کرد باید کار و هرام
 چون نزد موبدان این خواند دستور که نام او بود سهراب مشهور
 همه واقف شده موبد ازین حال دعاها کرد بدستور فی الحال
 پس آنکه سرور خورشید دانا بگفته با همه کس با دلاسا
 635 که دستور آن دستور است سهراب و را گفتش نکو سردار با آب
 که جمله موبدان و هیربدان را جمع سازید یکسر فاضلات را
 که چون دانا و عالم هر که باشد گزینید آنکس را شناسد
 بداند کار یشتن یشت و وندید کند هر روز در دل صبر و تمجید¹
 چو بشنیدند همین گفتار دستور شده رو سرخ و دل در گشت پر نور
 640 خبر کردند تمامی موبدان را بطلییده بتزدیک خودان را
 بنوساری همه بودند موبد بیامد جمع دو صد فاضل و رد
 دیساهی را ازان کردند خبردار چون بشنید این سخن آن نام بردار
 بگفتا کرد باید اختیاری ز کارشان شود بس نام داری
 ازیشان صد گزیده پس در اندم که در تن پاک وزیرك جمله همدم
 645 اوستا را درست راست خوانند ره شایست و نا شایست بدانند
 بگفته حاکم دانا یاف سراسر بسرور می نمودند جمله ظاهر
 بسی خوشنود گشت آن یک سردار خدا یا دولت او را نگهدار
 آلهی بزرگ مایان بداری همیشه سایه گستر بختیاری

1 Tamhtd = arranging, adjusting.

خدا یا کرده نامش تو خورشید بداری دولتش را تا تو جاوید
 650 الهی مرو را بیدار کردان عدویش را همیشه خوار کردان
 ازان روزیکه پیدا شد ز مادر همه دشمن شده پامال و پستر
 شده بختش¹ انفروار روشن خدا این اسپرم داده بگلشن
 که از بویش شده بد خواه نگوئسار درینجا همچنین کل داده دادار
 هرا نکس کو مرا این کل را ببینند دماغ خود رغفس² می بشویند
 655 توان کل دان که نامش هست خورشید بنوساری خدایا دار جاوید
 که در دورش شود آتش وره رام ازان ملعون شود بی زور و بی کام
 شده خواهان بدین مزدیسنان مرادش را بر آرای پاک یزدان
 که بنوساری از و دایم شکفته است همه بد خواه خود را هم شکسته است
 ثنایش از زبان من نیاید که چندین میکنم دفتر فزاید
 660 بیا شاپور قلم را تیز کردان مراد خویش را در پش کردان
 بنام قادر پیچون و خوشنام بکرده ابتدا آتش وره رام
 بروز پاک هور مزد نخستین بهاء تیر بود ای مرد بهذین
 سنه کر یزد جردی را بجوی هزار و یکصد و سی چهار کوی
 شروع کرده درین روز اینچنین کار سر انجامش رساند پاک دادار

1 I am doubtful about the reading and meaning of this word. It may have been miswritten for *عود وار*, i.e. like aloo-wood.

2 I am doubtful about the reading and meaning of this word. *rughal* is "the plant orange". The second part of word may be 'ghas,' i.e. weak, languid.

- 665 مهابت موبد که صد بکزید دانا بتن پاکان و پر دایش توانا
 چو آن موبد بیامد در در مهر برای یشت یشتن جمله خوشچهر
 همه موبد لباس خوب پوشید پنامی ردهان بستند و جوشید
 چو چیده آتشان را در در مهر بیاورده بد آن دانای خوشچهر
 بران آتش یزشن کرد جاری باواز بلند و خواستاری
 670 ازان وستا همه دیوان نکونسار بیقتاده همه در دوزخ نار
 خوشی. کشتند همه امشاسفندان باواز اوستا خواندن ایشان
 همه موبد که اندر کار آن بود نمی رفتند هرگز خانه خود
 همیشه ماندندی در در مهر ز بهر یشت و وندیداد خوشچهر
 همین گونه ده و شش آتشان را بکرده یشت و وندیداد آنرا
 675 همه آتش شده از یشت طیار مراو را جمع کرده چون بیکبار
 بیک آدوشت نهاده آتشان را مراو را آتش بهرام کوثیا¹
 پس آنکه بوی خوش بنهاده دستور شده آتش وهرام ازوی پر نور
 ازان خوشبو شده ددیوان همه کم بیقتاده همه بریاس بمانم
 لفشان را بگفته است یزدان که آتش را بهر جا شو نکهبان
 680 نهد خوشبو بهر که بر وهرام همه دیوان شود زانجای کم نام
 هزاران دیو و بیور جادوانرا شکست و زد رسد زان بوی آنرا
 خصوصاً بوی خوش بنهاده باید بوقت نیم شب تا بهتر آید
 خداوند را مراب دستور نامی بسی خدمت بکرده آن گرامی

1 It is an unusual combination of words. It is tō yā, i.e.
 oh you !

بدانی نام آت در ستور اسهراب آلهی مرورا داری تو شاداب
 چنان کردند که در نسخات بدند موافق بهلوی یازند نمودند 685
 بگفته بود آت دادار نیکو بزرشت پیمبر پاک و آشو
 به بین در کرده هشم پیدا بگفته است آندادار یکتا
 اگر تو زند و ندیداد خوانی همه اسرار آتش را بدانی
 همه نسخات دیده کرده اینکار خدای کو بوده هر وقت و که یار
 بعون ایزد دانای خوشنام بنوساری شده آتش و برهram 690
 همه را مزد داد و کرد خشنود بر آورده مراد و جمله مقصود
 همه موبد بدل شادی کشادند که هرگز کس چنین محنت ندادند
 دوگاه مزد داده آت نیکو فال همه موبد خوشی کشتند از ائمال
 دعا کردش بران سردار دانا که نام بود خورشید پانا
 درین دور اوارون اینچنین کار نکرده بد کسی ای مرد دپندار 695
 همه از کار خانهای جو دین بیاوردند آتش جمله بهدین
 خداداده همه این حکمت و هوش ازان جد دین شده بی حشمت و نوش
 خدا داده هدایت مرورا این نشاید آتش بهرام را این
 بسی کرفته شده حاصل ازینکار بیابد مزد آن دریش دادار
 بگفته است اندر زند و ندید چو مرده سوز آتش را کسی چید 700
 ثواب او بود چندان که دانی که بیورانشان را در نشانی
 دویم آتش بیار از خانه رنکریز همین ترتیب جینند و گنند ویز
 ثواب او بود ای مرد به راه هزار آتش نشایند بدرگاه

سیوم آتش یسارند از همای یچینند همچنین گفتم که دانی
 705 دهد مزدش خدا او را بمینو که پانصد آتشان درگاه نشاند او
 ازین ترتیب ده و شش آتشانرا یچینندش دهد مزدش مر آتزا
 همین گونه بگفته آن خداوند بزرشت نیکو دین و هماوند
 پس آنکه آن نیکو سهراب دستور بگفته با همان سردار پیر نور
 شده مرتب شه آتش وهرام سرانجامت رسانیده خدا کام
 710 جوابش داد آن سردار خورشید که ای دستور دانا باد جاوید
 یکی گنبد کنانیدم سزاوار برای آتش وهرام شاهوار
 نشانیم آتش بهرام آنجا مراد ما بجا آرد بدانجا
 هوس بدم که دیدارش به بینم کلی شادی زرخسارش به چینم
 چنان بشنود آن دستور دانا بتن خوش گشت و در دل شد توانا
 715 بروز آن سروش پاک رهبر بهاء اردیبهشت نیک خوشتر
 سنه کر یزدجردی را بدانی هزار و یک صد و سی پنج خوانی
 درین روز آن نیکو آتش وهرام نشانیده بتخت سنگ ارخام
 بدور آن نیک سردار دانا که نامش راو کردارچی پانا
 رعیت پرور است و نیک انصاف آلهی دار ویرا حی¹ و دل صاف
 720 زهر² طالع که در دورش چنین کار شده از حکم ایزد پاک دادار
 باول بوی داد آن نیک دستور ابر آتش وهرام نیکو نور
 همه دستور و موبد شد پرستار دگر بهدین و سرور شد مددگار

1 Haiy = alive.

2 Zahr tala'a = bright-fortuned, from

Zahr bright ; or flower-fortuned, from zahr, a flower.

ازان جادو و دیوان گشت ویران شده آباد نوساری چو ایوان
 چو آتش را همه کس شد پرستار که نوساری شده چون باغ گلزار
 725 بهر شهریکه بهدین نام بودند که و مه هر که خاص و عام بودند
 رسیدند آگهی آنجا ازینکام بنوساری شده آتش و رهرام
 که نوساری ز آتش پُر هنر شد همه زرتشتیان را این خبر شد
 همه بهدین ز هر شهر و ز اطراف بنوساری همی آمد بدل صاف
 بسوی شهر سورت این خبر شد همه بهدین بجان و دل روان شد
 730 همه خاصان و داناان و سردار بیامد پیش آتش شد پرستار
 برای دیدن آتش و رهرام بداده نفقه¹ و کسوت² شده رام³
 بسی زر خرج کرده پیش بهرام همه دستور و موبد گشت خوش کام
 بسی هدیه فدا کرده بر آتش ازان کشتند دیوان جمله ناخوش
 چو در بهروج و او کلیسر ازینحال همه بهدین شده واقف بیکو فال
 735 همه مردم بنوساری دوا نشد برای دیدن آتش روان شد
 بنزدیک و رهرام هدیه بردند چون آن هدیه بران انشار⁴ کردند
 هر آنکس مرد بهدین نام بودند بنزد آتش بهرام نبودند
 ز دیدارش همه کس گشته بی غم رسید⁵ ایفت و حاجت گشته خرم
 همه مردم دعا کرده بخورشید که ای سردار باشی تا تو جاوید
 740 شاید آتش بهرام مینو خدا یا مر و را داری تو نیکو

1 Nafaqah = expenses, maintenance. 2 Kesvat = dress.

3 Rām = happy. 4 Nisār kardan = to scatter. The
 alif in the beginning of the word is not necessary.

5 Miswritten for آیت aiyeft = wish, desire.

چنین گفتست در دین مرد همام¹ بودی چون اگر آتش و رهرام
 ز آسیب بدان و ظالمان هم ز دزدان رهنان و بدتران هم
 ز جای جای دیگر نتوان باخت ز شهری شهری دیگر نتوان تاخت
 ز برکات و رهرام نیکو دان که مردم در امان باشند ز دزدان
 745 که بیدادی نیسازند حاکم ازین برکات دان ای مرد پاکم
 چنین گفتست ز رشت سفتان بنزدیک شه گشتاسپ به دان
 مهر شهری شتایی آتشان را نشانی و کنی خدمت مهر گاه
 ازان آباد باشد شهر و رعیت نه ظلم و نه ستم باشد نه زحمت
 ختم شد قصه بهرام فیروز بخوان ای نیک مرد عالم افروز
 750 خداوندا امیدم را روا کن مرا بر دین ز رشت آشنا کن
 خداوندا غریب و بیگسانم کنی رحمت ابر روح و روانم
 خدایا بر من مسکین بکن رحم ازان من در جهان باشم ابا فهم
 خداوندا که هستم بس گنهگار مرا از دست اهریمن نکهدار
 خدایا بینوایم روزیها بخش ز حکمایت تن من را شفا بخش
 755 خدایا کردگارا پاک دینا همیشه روح و جانم را نکینا
 منم مسکین توی پروردگارا نگو دین را تو کردی آشکارا
 مهر لحظه ترا خوانم همیشه مرا هرجا بداری راست پیشه
 درین دنیا شدم بیچار و محروم ز احسانت بکن هر لحظه خرم
 درگاهت بنام من شب و روز مراد من رسان ای پاک فیروز
 760 ز وارونی دیوان دور داری ز من اهریمنان رنجور داری

1 Hamām = liberal, heroic.

که از باد سموم¹ و وزخزانی² نریزانی زمین برگ جوانی
 کنی معمور³ و ز باد اشوی کزان خرم شوم بس سرخ روی
 ز تدم دور کن بد حاسدان را رسان بر جای پاگان ای خدا یا
 درین گیتی مرا مشهور سازی بهجت بر روانم کن نوازی
 765 بدرگاہت کنم ای حق مناجات قبولش کن بر آر اینجای حاجات
 چنان این قصه آتش و رهرام بسر کردم بنوساری ابا کام
 اگر خواهی که نام این قصه پرداز بدان شین و الف ای مرد همراز
 دگر بن عجمی و واور ری دان شود ظاهر تر ازین حرفها خوان
 ازین حرفش شود چون نام شاپور بود بابش نیکو مانک مسرور⁴
 770 که نام باب آن دان نیک بهرام بهجت جای کرد است بهر آراء
 همیشه پیشه اش خوان ای نکوخوان که کار موبدی میسازند از جان
 بدان نسلش ز نیربوسنگ دستور بد آن بر زند و ستاشاد و پر نور
 773 بود بابش دهل و مرد با ساز ازین نسل و ازین نامش بکن ناز

تمتہ تمام

شد

قصه آتش

ورهرام

1 Samoom = sultry wind, simoon. 2 Khuzāni = autumnal.

4 Ma'mur = prosperous.

5 Masrur = joyful.

IV

A FREE VERSION OF THE QISSEH-I
ZARTÜSHTIÂN-I HINDÜSTÂN

The author, at first, invokes God and praises Him : God
 Invocation, cc.1-28. created water over a bed of land. He
 came into Existence out of His Muni-
 ficence. He is incomparable (yagâneh) and causeless
 (bi-bahâneh) *i.e.* self-created. All existent things will
 pass into non-existence. He alone will exist always.
 His Nature is pure from the bottom to the top (Earth to
 Heaven) You call Him God. He keeps the vir-
 tuous every moment (*i.e.* always) sweet-tongued. One
 of the reasons for His praise is the institution of the six
 Gâhambârs which are named and described by the author.

He describes the birth of Zoroaster who laughed¹ at the
 time of birth, and terrified the Devs
 Birth of Zoro- who began practising sorcery against the
 aster. His visit to the Court of God. cc (couplets) 29-57. infant, but to no effect. When he arrived
 at the age of thirty, he was carried to the
 Court of God by Bahman. He remained there for 10 years
 and learnt all secrets with humility. He saw Heaven and
 the dark Hell. Then God asked him to accept and spread
 the Mazdayasni religion and gave him (a) 21 *Nasks*,
 (b) brilliant fire which burns perpetually without fuel and
 (c) a branch of the tree of Kashmir² (کشمیر). Zoroaster
 accepted them and was made to sit on a brilliant throne
 with these three things. The angels lifted the throne and

1 Besides Zoroastrian books, Pliny (Nat. History Bk. VII, a. XVI, 15, and other foreign writers refer to this. *Vide* Jackson's Zoroaster, p. 27.

2 For Kashmir having been mixed up with Kashmar, *vide* my paper on "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (Asiatic Papers Part I, p. 110).

brought Zoroaster down upon this earth. On reaching the earth, Zoroaster recited the Ahunavar which saddened the Devil (mal'un).

Arrival at the Court of Gushtasp. cc. 58-86.

 Zoroaster, coming to the Court of King Gushtasp, blessed the king in the Avesta language. On Gushtasp asking him who he was, he declared himself as a prophet sent here (idar) by God to make the Mazdayasni religion evident (havidâ) and declared (paida) and asked that the sacred fire may be enthroned in a dome, that the branch of the tree may be planted in the ground, and the 21 *Nasks* may be read. On hearing all this, Gushtasp praised Zoroaster and ordered the fire to be enthroned in a dome, ornamented with the portrait of kings like Jamshed, Kaikhushru and other ancient kings. All, and among them Zarir, Nastahan¹ and Lohrasp were gladdened at the sight of the sacred fire. No sooner was the cypress planted, it miraculously seemed to have grown with green leaves on each of which it was written: "O King! Accept this religion and be well-informed". Zoroaster then read the 21 *Nasks* before the King.

Alexander's Invasion. cc. 87-94.

 After a number of years, time brought on the power of Alexander, and that deceitful king, with the help of Ahriman, captured the kingdom. He oppressed the people, in a way in which none had done before in the world (gehân). His (i.e. his dynasty's) regime continued for 300 years.

Ardeshir Babegan. cc. 95-192.

 After that, God had mercy and He brought forth King Ardeshir who restored peace and order. In his time, there appeared Ardai Viraf who went to the Court of

1 The name may have been miswritten, for Ruintan, and may be for Asfandyâr, whose body was made impregnable to arms by drugs. Or, it may have been miswritten for Nastur.

God. His account is given by Zartusht bin Behram.¹ It tells us what is lawful and what unlawful. O Shapur! be alert in describing this, so that you may acquire the abode of Heaven. Since that time (of Ar dai Viraf), the Mazdayasni religion continued upto the time of Yazdagard.

After Yazdagard, a calamity came over Iran. All Dasturs and Behedins got scattered. They concealed themselves for the sake of religion. For 100 years they remained in Kohistan.

After Yazdagard.
cc. 103-39.

When difficulties came there also from the Jud-dins (non-Zoroastrians) all the wise men went to the city of Hormaz. Among them, there was a wise Dastur versed in astrology and prognostications (*ramel*). He predicted a misfortune, if they stayed there, and advised departure to India. Thus, they went on board the ships, provided with goods and provisions by the Behedins. All the Mobads sat together there. In the voyage, they were overtaken by a storm. They prayed to God for safety and took a vow that, if they reached the shore of India safely, they would erect and consecrate there a Fire-temple. Their prayer was accepted through the good fortune (*yamn*) of Atash Behram.

A favourable gentle (*sabâ*) wind set in, and contrary (*i.e.*, unfavourable) winds were agitated (*ramideh* or opposed). Performing *kusti* (sacred thread), they thanked God and landed safely on the shore of Diu, where they lived for five years. Then, on the advice of a pious Mobad who prognosticated, they emigrated from there to Gujarat.

Arrival at Diu.
cc. 140-145.

1 For this book, *vide* (a) "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nama) de Zartusht-i Behram ben Pajdu, par Frederic Rosenberg" (1904). (b) પેગમ્બર સાહેબ અશો જરતોશ્તના જનમારાનાં એકવચનાં ...તરજુમી". (c) "Vie de Zoroastre" by Anquetil du Perron, in his *Zend Avesta*, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 1-70.

They came to Gujarat where ruled a wise chief named Jadi-Rānā. All were delighted to land at the place. Their Dastur went before the King with excellent presents and gifts and expressed their condition of distress, and asked for permission to live there, saying that they had come there for the sake of their religion. They had heard of his goodness towards his subjects, and so, they had come there with pleasure. The King, who was pleased to hear what the Dastur said, was pleased with his appearance. But, looking to the stature and features of his people, he got a little frightened about the stability of his throne (lest they may one day think of taking it away from him). At first, he wanted to know something about their religion. The Dastur explained and relieved his mind of any fears about them and assured him, that he would see no evil in them and that they would be his friends. He added that they were worshippers of God (*Yazdānparast*) and had descended from Jamshed, that they respected the Sun, the Moon, Water, Fire and products of Earth and had respect for all the good creation of God; that they followed the customs of the religion of Zoroaster. The King then consented and asked them to choose a place in his country. They chose a beautiful spot for their residence and named it Sanjan.

After some time, they asked the King's permission to found an Atash-Behram. The King immediately gave it. They sent two Mobads to Persia to bring from Khorasan things of ritual (*alāt*) for the consecration of the sacred fire. These were brought and the sacred Fire was consecrated and founded.

Three hundred years after this event, they began to scatter and to go to various parts of India. Some went to Bankanir and some to Broach, Ankhsar (Anklesar), Khamba-

Arrival at San-
jan. cc. 145-179.

Founding a Fire-
temple. cc. 180-196.

Dispersion and
Distribution of Pan-
thaks. cc 197-223

yat and Naosari. One day, the wise men, who were at Sanjan, met together and resolved to make an ecclesiastical division of the places where the Behedins lived. They made the following five divisions: (1) Sanjan, from the river Pâr¹ to the river Dantora, the laymen of which division were under the ecclesiastical rule (*hokam*) of the Mobads of Sanjan. (2) Naosari, from the river Pâr to the river of Bariāv. (3) Gudarēh, (Godavreh), the Godārians² of which division were to officiate from Bariāv to Anklesar (Ankleser). (4) Broach, from Anklesar to Khambayat (Cambay) was the limit of the Bharuchas. (5) Khambayat. This division was made with a view to avoid quarrels and dissensions.³ The Mobads of one division did not enter into another division for the performance of any religious service.

After a few years, the country of Sanjan was pawned⁴ or pledged into the hands of the King of the Farangis (*i.e.* the King of Portugal). All the wise men there got frightened.⁵ So, they wrote to the Naosari Mobads request-

1 The river near the town of Pardi (Pâr-nadi).

2 The words Goudāreh and Goudārian may perhaps be derived from Persian گودال or گودال, a low-lying place. Perhaps they were so-called from their country being a plain, without any river or mountain.

3 For a literal translation of the couplets on the subject of the division, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees", p. 16-17.

4 Giraw or girao=pawn, pledge; cf. Gujarati ગીરવ.

5 This is an allusion to the intolerance of the Portuguese in the matter of religion. *Vide* my "A Few Events in the History of the Parsees and their Dates", pp. 23-35. Their intolerance seems to have driven away some Parsees from that part of the country to another, and so, the Mobads at Sanjan had fewer laymen under their parish from whom they could gain their maintenance. So, they asked for the favour of an addition to their division. The events do not seem to be in a proper chronological order. The Portuguese occupation was a later event than that of the sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Begarhā.

ing them, on account of the shortage of income .(*tangi*), to transfer Bulsar (which was on the other side of the Pār river and hence under the jurisdiction of the Naosari priests) from their limit to the limit of Sanjan. The Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari thereupon met together and then resolved to give the town of Bulsar to the Mobads of Sanjan. Two hundred years passed over this event. Then, there remained few families at Sanjan.

When 700 Yazdezardi passed (after the event of the arrival from Persia), a calamity came over
 The Invasion of Sultan Mahmud. cc. 234-267. Sanjan. The Hindu king heard of the coming of the people of Islam and got frightened. A king, named Sultan Mahmud, heard that there was a prosperous Raja at Sanjan. He called one of his Vazirs, named Alaf Khan, before him and asked him to invade Sanjan. When the Raja heard of this, he got frightened and called all the Mobads and Behedins before him and reminded them that his forefather had given them (*i.e.* their forefathers) shelter. So, he now asked them to help him in his difficulty by putting on arms and thus repay the previous act of gratitude. They unanimously consented to help the Raja and asked him to be free from anxiety. They said: "As long as we have life in our body, we will not turn away our face from the enemy." The Raja was pleased to hear this and gave them special dresses (*khalat*). One thousand four hundred persons came forward to fight. To make the matter short, let it be said, that there was a very hard fight, which, in the end, ended in the defeat of the Raja's army and the Behedins. Sanjan was devastated and the Hindu Raja himself was killed. The defeated Mobads and Behedins¹ all went to a mountain, named Baharāt, and remained there for 12 years.

¹ In some places, by "Behedins", we have to understand Parsees in general, and in some, the laymen in particular.

Then, from there they came to Bansdah and brought, there the Atash Behram with them. Carrying the Sacred Fire to Naosari, after short stays at Bah-rût and Bansdah. cc. 268-331. Fourteen years passed in this way. Then, a good pious Behedin, named Shah Changa bin Asa, of Naosari, went with some

other good men to Bansdah to worship at the Fire-temple. A few months after this, Changa Asa thought that he may bring the Sacred Fire to Naosari and locate it there. He convened a meeting of the Anjuman of Naosari for the consideration of the question and all agreed; but the Mobads represented, that there was an agreement of old that the Mobads of each district shall officiate in their respective districts only and so they (the Sanjana Mobads) would not come. Changa said to them that the Mobads there were in a perverse state¹ and so he would take them there and show to both (*i.e.* to the Mobads of Sanjan and those of Naosari) their respective proper paths (*i.e.* spheres of sacerdotal action). So, there would be no disputes. Nobody will interfere with each other without permission (*bi-razâ*). The Mobads were pleased with this arrangement. They then, in the company of Changa Shah, went to the Fire-temple (*nazd-i Vahram*, at Bansdah) and brought the sacred Fire to Naosari² and

1 *Kaj-rui* (lit. crooked face), perverseness.

2 *Kisseh-i Sanjan* gives, as an additional cause, the fact that Changa Shah also represented, that the presence of the sacred Fire in their midst would save them the trouble of going to Bansdah every year in the month of Adar, specially sacred to Fire, which fell during the rains. Here, a marginal Gujarati note runs thus, સવત ૧૪૭૫ નાં શેજ ૨૯ મા. ૬ સને ૭૮૮ હીજરી અખાડ સુદ ૫) ને શુધે નો-શારી લાવીઆ હતા. The word "Hijri" is evidently wrong. It is the Yazdagardi year 788 that would correspond with Samvat 1475. Thus, the writer of the marginal note gives 788 as the year, when this *Qisseh* gives it as 785

enthroned it in a good house,¹ specially vacated for the purpose. Three leading Mobads (from Sanjan), who had accompanied the sacred Fire, attended to it as its appointed (muwakkal) guardians. Their names were Nakan Rām, Khūrshīd Kayāmuddīn and Chāndnā Sayar. They went with their families. The year of this event was 785 Yazdagardi.²

Then, Changa Shah called together the Bhagariā Mobads (of Naosari) and those of the Mobeds. cc. Sanjan and, referring to the five divisions of sacerdotal work, pointed out to them their respective works. The Sanjan Mobads were to attend to, and serve (khadmat), the Sacred Fire (and have all the proceeds of the offerings) and were not to perform any religious function in connection with the living or the dead, which it was the function of the Bhagariā Mobads of Naosari to perform. The Sanjana Mobads were pleased with this arrangement and a written agreement (nabisht-khwān) was made.

After several years, the Sanjanas turned away from this arrangement and raised dissensions. They fostered, among the Behdins, hatred (ghall) for the Bhagariā Mobads. They combined with the laymen and made matters difficult for the Bhagariās. Disputes (āhang) arose between the laymen and the Bhagariā Mobads, and men on both sides were killed in the fight. The laymen lodged complaints with voices of resentment (kudurat) at Surat (the then headquarters of Government) with the help of the Desais of Surat. The Nawab sent a Police-officer³ to Naosari to

1 During one of my visits to Naosari, I was once pointed out a house, near the newly built house of Dr. Jahangir Byramji Dordi, as the house of the Fire-temple.

2 Vide my "Few Events in the History of the Parsis" for my view of the proper date.

3 Jaswal for *جاسوال* or *جاسول* "Horseman, attendant upon a man of rank : a state-messenger, a police officer" (*Encyclopædia Britannica* p. 1581). Perhaps a corruption of *جاسور*.

fetch the accused from there.¹ He came to Naosari and arrested and carried to Surat many priests (adharvan) and presented them before the Governor. There lived at this time a good Behdin, named Modi Kuvarji, at Surat. The other priests of Surat also appeared before the Modi and with him went to the court of the Governor. The Modi represented that there was a mutual fight and persons on both sides were killed and no side (intentionally) sought each other's blood. He got acquittal for all.

Afterwards, when the Behdins again committed a wrongful act (and a quarrel arose), all were released, but twelve were sent to jail and were tied with ropes (zarād). They remained long in prison. The laymen for a long time annoyed (lit. oppressed) the priests. Then, they proposed to the priests, that they (the latter) may pass a writing that the laymen may be pleased (i.e. be at liberty) to have the services of any Mobad they liked. The Mobads accepted that, and passed a writing.² The laymen spent a good deal of money at the time. Thereafter, the twelve priests

1 *The Parsi Prakash* (I, p. 19) describes the event and gives the dates and names of the parties, on the authority of a document signed by Kaji Audin Ushmani. In the preceding year, i.e. 1685 A.C., two agreements, confirming the arrangement previously made at the time when the Sacred Fire was brought to Naosari, were entered into between the Sanjana and Bhagariā priests. For a full translation of this part of the Qisseh, for Anquetil du Perron's account of the events, and for Kuvarji Modi etc., vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 73-78.

2 *The Parsee Prakash* I, p. 846, thus takes a note of this event under the date, 8th February 1687:— "અથે વર્ષે નવસારીમાં થંવલી મોદી માસમારિને લીધે ત્યાંના બેહેદીનો રોશખજ અસપુજ. પટેલ નોસરવાનજ મેહેરજ, હોરાંજ કેકબાદ, કાકશ આશદીન, જવલજ બહમનજ, ભાઈજ આગર, લીબરા રાંમા તથા શમરાત બેહેદીનોએ ભગરીઆ મોબેદો પાસેથી એક શખ કરાવી લીધો હતો કે....."

were released. The Sanjana priests were all pleased by this result because the laymen had succeeded. Then, the Sanjana Mobads desired to officiate at the houses of all laymen. The Bhagariā Mobads heard this news from all quarters. Then they said to the Sanjana Mobads that if they would thus try to acquire for performance the liturgical work of all the laymen, there would again be quarrel and strife. The Sanjana Mobads thereupon desisted. Then the laymen, in consultation with the Sanjana Mobads called a Mobad, Minocher Homji by name, and entrusted to him their work of performing the religious services.¹ The Bhagariā Mobads then disassociated this Mobad from their class. After some time (with a view to avoid further disputes), the laymen, the Sanjana Mobads and the Bhagariā Mobads came to some terms, because, formerly, the Bhagariās were performing the religious ceremonies, both for the dead and the living, among the Sanjana Mobads. (The author says that the matter of the state of affairs is long and that, if described in full, will be tiresome to the reader (qāri), and so, he shortens it).

Then after some time, there came into prominence a brilliant man (lit. a head) by name Desai
Bhagariās and Desai Khurshedji. Khurshid good-faced and good-natured
ec. 387-392. like the sun and famous. O God! keep
him happy and brilliant. To the Bhagariā Mobads, he was
as it were a pearl (durr). He helped them.

(To be continued.)

1 The *Parsee Prakash*, I, p. 846, thus takes a note of this event:
“નવસારી મધે હપલી મારા મારી તથા ખુના મરજીને લીધે ત્યાંના
ખેડેલીનો ધણા ઉશકેરાયા હતા, અને તેઓએ એજ વખતે ભગરીઆ મોખેદોના
બળના કુટુંબના એક મોખેદ એ. મનોએદર હોમછને પોતાની પક્ષમાં લઈ
ભગરીઆ મોખેદોથી છુટો પાડી એક જુદી હરેમદર તેના પોતાનાજ પરમાં
ફેડાવી આપી, અને ત્યાં તે તથા એ જુદા મોખેદ તેને મલતા થાય તેમની
પાસે પોતાને ત્યાંની સર્વે દીન ધર્મની કીઆ કરાવવાનો બંદોબસ્ત કરીને હતા.”

EXCAVATIONS AT SUSA IN 1929.¹

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

The Parsis of Bombay, who are taking a special interest in these recent years in everything that concerns Persia, the land of their ancestors, have not neglected to participate in scientific researches in Persia. Certain rich Parsis, who had generously helped European savants in their archæological work in Persia, granted me at the end of 1928 a good sum of money, for which I feel deeply thankful to them, to continue the work of excavations at Susa, which I had begun in 1927 with the permission of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. This permission was kindly renewed for the past season. I was, therefore, able to commence the work of excavations on the 30th January 1929, which I finished on the 26th March 1929.

At first, I began my work on the tepeh called Būlahyā, situated about three kilometres south of Susa. It is a monticule, rather conic in shape, with a maximum diameter of fifty metres at its base and an altitude of about fifteen metres above the plain. It was in its vicinity that we excavated one day in 1927, following the discovery of a fragment of a human mask, pertaining to an anthropoid sarcophagus of the Parthian period, and discovered about half a dozen sarcophagi of the anthropoid type of the same epoch, lying nearly on the surface of the ground. They were in such a deplorable condition and so unfit for transport to the castle, that we had to content ourselves

... 1 The original report in French has been published in, "*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*," 1929, Vol. XXVI, No. III, pp. 138-142.

only with their photographs and with several small terra-cotta vases, which were helpful in determining their date.

Three days' work of excavations on the Tepeh Būlahyā proved fruitless. In the trench which I opened on the summit of the tepeh from east to west, and which I carried to an uniform depth of 1 m. 50, I came across nothing but earth, apparently appertaining to the natural soil. Still it was as hard and as compact as the beaten earth, which I found later in my work on a small elevation, situated at a short distance north of the tepeh. This fact and the presence, although very rare, of fragments of vases lying at the foot of the tepeh led me to entertain hopes of the discovery of the ceramics of the Parthian, Sassanian and Arab epochs. These hopes proved utterly barren. There are two explanations of the total absence of the vestiges of the civilisations of these three epochs: firstly, that this tepeh is nothing else but a natural monticule emerging from the plain of Susa like many others in its vicinity; secondly, that it was at first only a slight natural elevation, surmounted by a military construction of crude bricks of the Sassanian period, whose ruins contributed to raise its height. The first explanation seems to me to be very probable. The presence of the fragments of vases would then indicate inhumation of the dead with funeral vases. Be it what it may, the short time at my disposal and infructuous expenses forced me to abandon this trench.

There is in the vicinity of this tepeh a place also called Tepeh Būlahyā, which forms an island, 45 m. by 25 m. in relief, in a barley-field. In the course of my work on this spot I noticed that it was employed like many other tepehs in its vicinity for burial of the dead in Parthian times, in about the beginning of the Christian era.

The trench, which I opened here, attained at the close of the work a length of 18 m. 50 and a breadth of 5 m.

I found in it twelve anthropoid sarcophagi. Most of them were more or less damaged by exposure to natural agents like wind and rain, which had previously washed off the earth under which they were buried. The thickness of this earth was nearly 2 m. near the centre of this elevation. The sarcophagi were placed generally one at the foot of the other, and oriented 15° east of the magnetic meridian. In the case of the three pairs of funeral urns, which I found also in this trench at a little distance from these sarcophagi, I noticed a marked variation in this orientation. They were oriented, *viz.* 10° west of the magnetic meridian. Their description will be given below.

The length of the sarcophagi varies between 1 m. 50 and 2 m. and their maximum breadth at the shoulders varies between 0 m. 45 and 0 m. 65. They were made on the spot of clay mixed with chopped straw and very badly abaked. They are, therefore, very brittle, especially on account of the clumsiness of their shapes. The thickness of their bottom is often less than that of their sides, which is about 0 m. 05. The imperfect baking has given them a light yellow colour, sometimes greenish. When the baking is perfect, as in the case of the second sarcophagus with the human mask, the colour becomes even whitish, and the brittleness is also reduced. Some of these sarcophagi have the shape of a shallow bath-tub, with the maximum depth of 0 m. 20.

Among these sarcophagi five merit our special attention, particularly on account of their shapes. The first, although very simple, had a fragmentary lid, whose upper half corresponding to the head and shoulders, was missing; the lower half was remarkable for a characteristic slightly raised curvature near the feet, representing the feet of the deceased enveloped in the shroud, which reminded us of the lids of Egyptian and Sidonian sarco-

phagi. The second and the third sarcophagi had lids formed of two pieces, slightly bent like tiles, which fitted exactly their sides. The brittleness of the materials of which they were made and their heavy weight made the two-pieces lids absolutely necessary. The lid of the second sarcophagus had a border, 0 m. 02 broad, marked by a line incised before baking running all around it. The upper half of the lid of the third sarcophagus had besides the border a sort of two wings, marked by two curved lines incised before baking, which we found also on the lids of the sarcophagi with masks; the lower half had two deep prints of dog's feet. The last two sarcophagi were not only interesting on account of their lids, but also on account of their shapes. One of them had a shape really bizarre. Its sides had near the top six small rounded protuberances, 0 m. 015 in diameter, like knobs, two at the shoulders, two near the waist, and two near the feet, which reminded us of the knobs of certain Phœnician sarcophagi. These protuberances became thinner and thinner as they reached the bottom of the sarcophagus, and formed a sort of a five-stepped moulding. The sarcophagus was slightly pointed at the head. It provided with the mask of the lid, which was 0 m. 17 shorter than the sarcophagus itself, and was raised above it by about 0 m. 05 to 0 m. 10, a natural effect of a woman wearing a pointed bonnet. The breadth of the sarcophagus at the feet was greater than usual; it was 0 m. 31, *i.e.* nearly half of its maximum breadth 0 m. 65, whereas all the others had the breadth at the feet one-sixth of their maximum breadth. As regards the lid, it also was formed of two unequal pieces, and had the border, 0 m. 02, like the lids described above. It was slightly bent like a tile. The upper half of the lid had a human mask in relief, very crudely shaped by the hand. The forehead is very low, and nearly covered by curled hair, indicated by five rows of small incised circles. A

dent separates the prominent eyebrows. The eyes are large and amygdoloid. The ears are treated in a very rudimentary fashion; they are indicated by two small curves slightly in relief. These are decorated with two small incised circles representing holes for passing ear-rings, which are missing. The mouth is small. The chin is not at all marked. Further, the upper half of the lid has the two wings, which we have already noticed on the lid of the second sarcophagus described above. The curvatures of the wings begin at the shoulders and end near the middle of the body. They approach each other at a straight line parting from the nose and forming an axis of symmetry of the body. The lower half had got no decoration except two deep prints of sheep's feet on the right. I shall give below an explanation of these prints and of the masks of the sarcophagi. The last of the sarcophagi was the most beautiful and the most artistic. It was also the best preserved of all. Its shape was purely anthropoid, exactly like that of Egyptian mummy-cases. I found in 1927 a sarcophagus similar to it at a distance of about a hundred metres to north-east of the place under excavation. Its shape was very elegant; its sides were a little bent inwards, exactly towards its middle. At the feet they made a saillie of 0 m. 13 towards the bottom. The upper half of its lid has the human mask, similar to that described above. But its face is smaller and the wings are treated differently. They do not form two curves, like the two branches of an italic X; they are placed rather like a Y, each of whose branches has two rows of small incised circles. The upper half of the lid has, moreover, on the left three short deeply impressed lines, which are found also on the same side on its lower half. Several pieces of the left side of the mask were found missing.

Every one of these sarcophagi was protected by half a dozen big jars of the Partho-Greek type, placed in a

slantic position on the beaten earth with which it was covered. These jars were originally empty, but little by little were filled with earth, which had found its way into them from above. Their own weight and that of the earth had crushed the fragile lids of the sarcophagi. Still I could save two lids, repairing them on the spot temporarily with plaster of Paris, and collect all fragments of two other lids, one without and the other with the wings, and those of two other sarcophagi as well.

I found near these sarcophagi four pairs of big funeral urns; every one of them was 0 m. 75 high, with a maximum diameter of 0 m. 81 and the diameter of the mouth 0 m. 70, two small vases with trifolium mouths and a terracotta lamp. Thus this necropolis seemed to have been very poor in small ceramics and other funeral objects. Further, I found here two tombs of a totally new type, which was intermediate between the double urn-tombs and the long jar-tombs of the Parthian and Sassanian periods. One was 1 m. 40 by 0 m. 35 and the other 1 m. 73 by 0 m. 47. They were lying horizontally on the ground. They were composed of two pieces, and thus resembled the double urn-tombs. They were very roughly made by the hand on the spot and were more or less flattened in the kiln. The second tomb had eight holes in its bottom, four in each piece at well-measured distances. These pieces had traces of a matting on the inside and of straw on the outside on which they were placed to dry before baking. The irregularity of their shape and the traces of the matting lead us to think that each piece was shaped on a mould, improvised by folding a matting. Moreover, I found that these two pieces, which were made of the ordinary clay mixed with chopped straw, were subjected to different temperatures; one had turned in consequence greenish and

very brittle, whereas the other reddish and hard. The latter had further a thin layer of white slip.

The sarcophagi as well as the funeral urns contained very few bones and no personal ornament, except a small gold ear-ring undoubtedly of a child. This paucity of bones leads us to consider them as *astodāns* or ossuaries, perhaps of the Parthians themselves. It is not surprising to find among a people so eclectic as the Parthians the use of anthropoid sarcophagi, borrowed from the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. It is now admitted that the Parthians followed as best as possible the injunctions concerning the dead prescribed by later Zoroastrianism. If we consider, therefore, these sarcophagi and these funeral urns as *astodāns* of the Parthians, we have hardly any grounds to believe that this necropolis was violated in later times.

We know well the sarcophagi of different epochs of the history of Susa found in the ruins of this ancient city, but the sarcophagi described above remain upto date unique in the objects discovered at Susa. They are well dated by the accompanying ceramics as pertaining to the Partho-Greek period, about the first century B.C. The discoveries of coins and inscriptions accompanying sarcophagi of this type will one day solve definitely the questions of their exact date and their origin.

The shape of these sarcophagi is undoubtedly influenced by that of the Egyptian mummy-cases, which were generally made of carton. It is, therefore, that their sides are often slightly bent inwards, and their lids are always tile-shaped. They were the Phœnicians who first borrowed the use of the sarcophagi from the Egyptians. They liked to have them in stone, preferably in white marble. The Egyptians represented the dead as laying on his own sarcophagus. This idea also was borrowed by the Phœnicians, but in ancient times they represented in relief on the lid of

a sarcophagus only his head, the whole body being considered by them to be enveloped in the shroud, and therefore, not at all represented in relief on the lid, but simply indicated by its tile-shape. It was due to the Greek influence, that they represented the dead in his natural size in relief on the lid. In the case of our sarcophagi the upper half of the body of the dead is visible, the lower half is considered to be enveloped in the shroud. The border on the lid, which we have already mentioned, has no other purpose but to indicate the contours of the dead lying on his sarcophagus. All sarcophagi described above have lids composed of two parts, the upper half of which is decorated either with the wings only or with the wings and the masks. Both the masks are beardless, and are surely those of women, as we see clearly from the long and abundant hair of the second mask. As regards the wings, we find them on a Punic sarcophagus from Carthage, that of the priestess (cf. *G. Contenau* *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, Paris 1926, p. 241, fig. 91). They are the wings of the great Egyptian goddess, Isis or Nephtis. Of course, not only the treatment of the wings on the sarcophagi in question, but also that of the masks can hardly stand the comparison with that magnificent art and that finesse, which are displayed in the portrait of the priestess on the Carthaginian sarcophagus.

If we compare our masks, particularly the second one, with the terracotta masks, especially those reproduced on pl. CCII of *Paul Gauckler*, *Nécropole Punique de Carthage*, Paris 1915, vol. I, we are led to think that the ornament which we call *wings* are nothing else but flowing hair curiously stylised, but still clearly indicated by small incised circles. Or do they represent the two flaps of the lid of a metal sarcophagus, perhaps of plumb, which covered only the body of the dead leaving the face open? Then

the small circles would represent nails. In the absence of precise materials for comparison all explanations of these ornaments given above remain only hypotheses.

Finally, those prints of the feet of dog and sheep and those short lines on the lids of the sarcophagi refers probably to a magic belief. A perfect work, without the least defect, can draw on itself the wicked eye, if it is not protected by a blemish or by an inappreciable defect. This is a belief widely spread among many oriental peoples.

During the course of excavations in the City of Artisans on a small mound, opposite to the Tell of the Royal City, where I widened the trench opened by me in 1927 (see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XXV, No II, p. 88) I found several long funeral jars of the Sassanian epoch, containing skeletons of children. These jars were found sometimes broken near the neck in order to insert the body, and then closed by a big terracotta bowl. They were lying horizontally on the ground. I found in this trench a well of sweet water. The water-level was 8 m. 50 below the top of the mound.

Two days' work in the vicinity of this mound was rewarded by the discovery of a funeral vault of crude bricks, in which I found a jar-tomb of a child pertaining to the Sassanian epoch. The vault was most probably opened during the course of excavations several years ago. It was at least 4 m. wide and nearly a metre high. The bricks measured 0 m. 325 x 0 m. 325 x 0 m. 08. Further, I found here many fragments of the very fine Sassanian ceramics, characterised by its thinness and whitish and greenish colours, which show clearly the revival of the ceramic traditions of the Style No. I and the Style No. II of ancient Susa.

Three weeks were sufficient to clear the ruins of a

house of the eleventh century A.D. in the ancient Arab city. I opened in it four rooms, in one of which I found a big Arab jar with a fine blue glaze and linear decorations, and in another an Arab copper ewer. I emptied near these rooms two Arab wells, built in with burnt bricks. One of them contained fragments of Arab vases, many representing the so-called *Gebri* pottery. Several jar-tombs of children pertaining to the Parthian period were found in one of these rooms at a depth of 2 m. 55. The vestiges of the Sassanian times were completely missing. Still several fragments of terracotta figurines of nude women and animals of this epoch were found in the Arab remplissage on the south side of the house. In the same room near one of the tombs I found a terracotta water-flask of green glaze containing a rich collection of 1434 Parthian silver drachms. As the silver was liberally alloyed with copper the pieces were greatly oxydised. By cleaning with water about fifty coins I could ascertain that there were at least twenty different types in this collection, and that most of the coins appertained to the Arsacide kings of Persia, viz. to Orodes I, Pacorus, and Phraates IV, who ruled in the second half of the first century B.C.

Several painted vases, a goblet, two small craters and a cup, of the Style No. I and Style No. II of Susa were excavated during the course of three days' work on the Tell of the Acropolis.

To sum up this short report, my excavations of this season have resulted in the discovery of several new and precious documents of the religious and political history of the Parthians. The sarcophagi described above are, I think, upto date unique of their type.

PROF. HERZFELD'S VIEW AS TO "WHO BUILT THE TAQ-I KESRA".

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

[In the Geographical Journal of June 1929 in an interesting article headed "Air Photographs of the Middle East" by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, the writer coming to the description of old monuments round Bagdad said:—
"We pass over innumerable derelict canals, some doubtless mediaeval, others of remote antiquity, till we come to the far-famed Arch of Ctesiphon. It is a huge vault of brickwork, reinforced in parts by beams of teakwood which may still be seen embedded in it. Some idea of its size is given by its shadow, and by the human figures standing on the crown of the arch. The Arabic name, Taj Kisra, relates it to Chosroes; but this means little more than 'Sassanid'. Herzfeld¹ ascribes it to Shapur I (242-272). It formed the open hall of his palace, and is one of the finest surviving examples of Sassanid architecture, whose home is Persia. Close by is the flat wide mound of the city of Ctesiphon, founded as their capital by the Parthians in 150 B.C. and not superseded as capital till after the Muhammadan Conquest."

I had the pleasure of visiting the Taq Kesra or Taq-i Khusro twice in October 1925. When I went to Europe in 1925, a Parsee lady, Bai Ratanbai Edulji Bamji, a sister of the late Mr. Jamshedji N. Tata had told me that she was willing to spend about Rs. 1,00,000 for some reparation of the Taq, if possible. With that

¹ Archæologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet, II, 1920, p. 76.

view I had some correspondence with the Colonial authorities when in London. They had kindly communicated our desire to the British Commissioner of Iraq. When in Bagdad, in October 1925, I had the pleasure of seeing him and that much lamented learned lady, Miss Bell, who was an authority on the subject. After some consultation, we gave up our object as the Iraq Government authorities were kindly doing all the needful to do the necessary repairs and the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 was nothing, if one ever thought of doing full justice to the repairs of the Taq. Under the circumstances, the above view of Prof. Herzfeld that the Taq was not that of Khosro, surprised me and I requested Dr. J. M. Unvala at Paris to kindly send me a summary of Prof. Herzfeld's writing on the subject. I am thankful to him for what he has kindly done and give his brief note here for wider information.

14th January 1930.

EDITOR.]

WHO BUILT TAQ-I KESRA ?

It is commonly believed by the Parsis that the imposing ruins of the Sassanian palatial building, called *Taq-i Kesra*, which are situated on the left bank of the Tigris, thirty kilometres south-east of Bagdad, are those of a palace built by Khosro I, Anoshirvan (531-579 A.D.). This is also the general opinion of western savants. Mr. Marcel Dieulafoy attributes its construction to Khosro I on the authority of Theophylaktos of Simocatta (*L'Art Antique de la Perse*, tome V, p. 63) whereas Firdusi attributes it to Khosro II (590-628 A.D.) (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Bd. II, page 539). Prof. Herzfeld contradicts this opinion of European savants and attributes it to Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) on the authority of Ibn al-Muqaffa, and particularly archæological grounds, which he gives at length in *Sarre und Herzfeld, Archaeologische Reise*

in *Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, Vol. II, pp. 50-76. He says:—“(p. 75) Now, as regards these constructions on the Euphratis the question arises, which was the centre from which this distorted art emanates? It is the wonderful city of the desert, Palmyra. It is not only *a priori* probable, but necessary, that this city had, like Persepolis, one of the residences of Salmo-Jamshed, made an immense impression on the Orient, and that it had exercised a definite influence on the architectural art in the regions of the Euphratis and the Tigris. As an evidence of this influence stands before us the façades of Ktesiphon.

The constructions of Palmyra cannot be very remote in time from this Taq-i- Kesra.....The latter cannot have been constructed later than the third century A.D. If it were later than this period we could expect a better and more skilful treatment of the motives borrowed from Hellenism.

The Arabs call these ruins the Iwan of the Kisra already in the oldest book that has come down to us.¹ Kisra is here the common appellation of the Sassanides, and not that of one of the two (p. 76) Khusraus. But the luxuriant crop of legends, which sprang up around the figures of these two Khusraus, particularly many moral legends about the justice of Khusrau I, that manifested itself in his conduct towards an old woman during the construction of his palace, led soon to the belief that the Iwan was built by Khusrau I.² This is purely a legend. Thus the more correct report that a Shapur was its builder was rationally harmonised in different ways. Shapur II is generally called Dhu 'l-Aktaf (e.g. in Ibn

1. Also the modern name Taq-i Kisra occurs early in Rashid al-Din. *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatrimere, p. 266 *et seq.*

2. But also Khusrau II? Comp. e.g. Yaqubi, Yaqut, Qazwini Hamadallah.

Qutaibah, Ibn al-Khatib (Masudi)). It is quite evident from a quotation in Yaqut that this appellation causes very frequently a confusion between these two glorious princes of the early period of the dynasty. According to this quotation¹ Hamzah al-Isfahani says :—I have read in a book translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa (Rozbih) that the Iwan, which is still existing in Madain was built by Shapur I, son of Ardashir. But this is not the case, as the Mobedhan Mobedh Umedh, son of Ashwahisht, has assured me. Rather al-Mansur abu Ja'far destroyed that palace, and that which is called Iwan to-day is built by Kisra (II) Abarwiz''. Now Ibn al-Muqaffa Rozbih (died about 140 A.H.-757 A.D.) is our best authority, and he is also the translator of the Sassanian chronicles from Pahlavi into Arabic; that book quoted by Hamzah is the Sassanian Khudai-nameh, the principal source of all informations on the Sassanians. This original document had thus preserved the report that Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) was the builder of the Iwan. In comparison with this the report of Umedh, the contemporary of Hamzah, which is based on conclusions *a posteriori*, is worthless.² In the description of the destruction of the Sassanian palace by al-Mansur (or al-Rashid) all sources are unanimous with the exception of this Umedh on this point that the destruction was not carried out and that Mu'tahid and Muktafi had not laid their hands on this palace, but on the white palace in the Madina al-Atiqah. The objection of the Mobedhan Mobedh, not to doubt whose authority is a characteristic of Hamzah,

1 Ya'qut I 425. Hamzah lived 280-360 A.H. Comp. E. Mittwoch *Die Literarische Tätigkeit Hamzah al-Isfahani's in den Mitt. des Semin. f. Orient Sprachen* 1900, XII, II. The quotation of Yaqut is presumably from an extant work *Kitab al-Muwazanah*.

2 On this personality, comp. F. Justi *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marbuerg 1895, page 333, see under *Umid* and p. 5 see under *Admet*.

against the old Sassanian tradition is thus baseless, and the trustworthiness of the latter is thus proved beyond doubt. It is unanimous with what we could expect and must demand from the researchers the history of its architecture.

The palace of Ardashir Khurrah-Firuzabad was built by Ardashir I (226-242 A.D.) even before he became Great King, thus before 226 A.D. The palace of Ctesiphon was built by his son Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) at all events in the beginning of his reign, as Ardashir had already chosen Ctesiphon as his perpetual residence. Iraq and Fars should not be put on an equal basis. With the shifting of the seat of government to the West the art which had truly preserved the old traditions in the distant province of Fars, opens its gates to the influences of the superior West. Firuzabad and Ctesiphon stand against each other, and the differences between them is a symbol for the Sassanian art. ”

A NOTE ON "MEMOIRES DE LA
MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE
PERSE, TOME XXI. INSCRIPTIONS
DES ACHÉMÉNIDES À SUSE PAR V.
SCHEIL, PARIS 1929 (101 PP. ET XIII PLANCHES)"¹

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

Revd. Father V. Scheil gives a very important and interesting contribution to the study of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenides by publishing in the XXI Volume of *Memoires de la Mission Archæologique de Perse*, the inscriptions found in excavations at Susa, carried on by M. Dieulafoy, M. J. de Morgan and M. R. de Mecquenem on behalf of the French Government since 1897. The merit of the work of this French savant lies not only in publishing these inscriptions, but also in restoring many of them by help of fragments of several duplicates, and thus giving us an idea of the epigraphic activities of the Achæmenian Sovereigns of the inscriptions in their original texts. It is regrettable that there remain still many lacunæ in several inscriptions, sometimes in essential passages. As these inscriptions were as a rule in three versions, Persian, Babylonian and Anizanite, these lacunæ could be often filled up by their comparison, and thus some minor details of the *general* text of these inscriptions could be restored. Herr F. H. Weissbach has incorporated in his "*Die Keilschriften der Achemeniden*", Leipzig 1911, eleven fragments of inscriptions from Susa, which had been published by M. Dieulafoy and M. J. de Morgan.

¹ For an excerpt from this volume cf. "*The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa*" by J. M. Unvala, Ph.D., Paris 1929.

The inscriptions published in this volume are, apart from many epigraphic peculiarities which they offer, very interesting, as all of them speak of the architectural activity of Darius I and his successors in Susa. There are in all thirty inscriptions, most of them fragmentary, twenty-two of Darius I Hystaspes, five of Xerxes, two of Artaxerxes II and one of Artaxerxes III. They are found on various materials, like baked clay tablets, baked bricks with or without the glaze and marble, mostly pertaining to the bases of columns. We learn from inscriptions No. 1 of Darius I and No. 29 of Artaxerxes II, that it was Darius I, who had constructed the palace and the Apadana at Susa. His successor seems to have added to these other minor constructions, or most probably kept the palace and the Apadana of Darius I in constant repairs.

The first inscription is a very interesting document concerning the foundation of the palace of Susa by Darius I in about 517-16 B.C., when Elam was completely subdued. It was found in the three usual versions, whose texts differed slightly in minor details. The Persian version is stamped on a nicely baked clay tablet measuring 0^m, 265 x 0^m, 22. It is much damaged, especially in important passages. But their texts could be restored by help of fragments of the duplicates chiselled on marble slabs: The clay tablet was found in its natural site, the Tell of the Apadana, whereas fragments of the marble slabs were found dispersed on all different points of the ancient city, on the Tell of the Apadana, the Tell of the Acropolis, the Royal City, etc. The Anizante version seems to have existed only on marble slabs; the Babylonian version had many duplicates on marble, whose fragments are very consecutive and have an integral aspect.

The document of the foundation of the palace of Susa can be divided into seven paragraphs according to its

contents:—§ 1) Homage to Ahuramazda by Darius, § 2) titles of Darius, § 3) royal vocation of Darius and his general activity, § 4) foundation of the palace of Susa, § 5) materials employed in its construction and their places of origin, § 6) names of the principal nations, who collaborated in its construction, § 7) prayer to Ahuramazda and conclusion.

Translation of the Babylonian version of the document.

§ 1) A great God is Ahurmazda, Who has created the heaven, Who has created this earth, Who has created men, Who has given pleasures to men, Who has made Darius king, king of many kings, unique among many chiefs.

§ 2) I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, son of Hystaspes the Achaemenide.

§ 3) King Darius says:—Ahurmazda, Who is the great God over (all) gods, it is He Who has created me, it is He Who has made me king, it is He Who has given me this great kingdom with handsome men and good horses. With the protection of Ahurmazda when my father Hystaspes and my grandfather Arsamma (Arsama) were still living, Ahurmazda made me king on this earth, Ahurmazda granted me on this whole earth horses and excellent men, and established me as king on this earth. (From that time upto date) I have accomplished the service of Ahurmazda. Ahurmazda is my powerful support, and what He orders me to do is performed and realized by my hand. All that I do, I do with the protection of Ahurmazda.

§ 4) I constructed the palace in Susa. Its ornamentation was brought from afar. The ground was dug out, till I reached the bed of the natural soil. Then the natural soil was dug out. And when the gravel was sufficient and when that spot, which was 40 cubits by 40.

cubits, was dug out, it was filled up with gravel. I built the palace on this gravel.

§ 5) The gravel that was used in filling up the ground dug out and the bricks of the brick-work was supplied by the people of Accad. The cedar-wood employed here was brought from a country called "Mountain" (*i.e.* the mountainous country of Libanon). The people of Ebir-nari brought it. It was brought to Susa through the lands of Babylonia, Karsa and Yavan. The *mismakan*-wood employed here (was brought) from the land of Gandara and.....(and from the land of.....*armana*) (Pers. Vers.). Gold employed here was brought from the lands of Sardes and Bactria. The *lapis* stone and the *sirgaru* (serpentine) employed here were brought from the land of Sogdiana. Hematite employed here was brought from the land of Khorasmia. Silver employed here was brought from the land of Egypt. The decoration of the reliefs of the palace was brought from the land of Yavana. Ivory employed here was brought from the lands of Kus, India and Arakhosia. The marble columns employed here were brought upto here from a town called Aphrodisias of the country of Ogiyia. The Yavanites and the Sardians brought them.

§ 6) Names of artisans who have worked (on the construction of the palace) according to their countries: the Medes and the [Egyptians (Pers. Vers.) have constructed this residence (Pers. Vers.) The Sardians and the.....made this. The Babylonians and the Yavanites made the.....made the (decoration) of the whole of this palace.]

§ 7) King Darius says:—All that I have done at Susa.....against inimical man. I (pray) that Ahurmazda may protect me (against injury (Pers. Vers.)) and my father and my country.

It is interesting to note that Darius became king during the lifetime of his father and grandfather, and that at the time of the completion of the palace about 517-16 B.C. his father was living.

Inscriptions Nos. 13-16 giving the usual titles of Darius I were found on four fragments of colossal statues of a human headed bull and of an archer decorating probably the gates of the palace. Nos. 15 and 16 are fragmentary.

From inscription No. 5 which is on the sockle of a column of the Apadana we learn that Darius calls the Apadana "palace of columns". The building must have got a colossal proportion when it was finished. Seeing his own master-piece and doubting the inconsistency of its fortune, Darius requests all those who might read his inscription No. 7 on one of the sockles of the columns not to judge him severely and accuse him of exaggeration.

It is from inscription No. 28 of Artaxerxes II that we learn the name of the palace of Susa. He calls it the "Paradise of life". His second inscription No. 29 has been well known since the time of Loftus. It mentions the reconstruction of the Apadana of Darius, which was burnt down by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Artaxerxes II invokes Ahurmazda, Anāhita, and Mithra. Inscription No. 29 has the Babylonian version.

Inscription No. 30 is the second one of Artaxerxes III; the first was found at Persepolis. It says that Artaxerxes III added a minor construction to those of his forefathers. He invokes only Ahurmazda and Mithra.

THE KAIKEYAS—AN IRANIAN TRIBE.

BY JAINATH PATI, ESQR.

I have prepared a long paper, rather a book than a paper, entitled "The Kaikeyas—an Iranian Tribe". On submitting it to the editor of this journal, he has, on the advice of an expert, asked me to summarise a few important points of my paper. Hence this brief paper.

(1) Brugmann and others have demonstrated that the original Indo-European *k* becomes *c* under the palatalizing influence of the vowel which is represented by the ambiguous *a* in Sanskrit but *e* in Greek and Latin. This is illustrated by writing those words from those languages which show the change side by side—Sk. *rocate*, Lat. *lucet* (Gune-Comp. Phil., pp. 144-5). We, however, do not always have the corresponding European words. But the law being proved in the known cases, its working can be assumed for those unknown in similar circumstances. Now in the case of the affix *-aka*, which gives us *mocaka*, *rocaka*, *pācaka*, etc., it can be certainly inferred that the connecting *-a-* was originally palatal. It is thus clearly, almost algebraically, proved that *Kīcaka*, the name of a foreign people in the Mahābhārata, is derived from *Kīk*. And according to Hemchandra's Anekārtha-saṁgraha, and other Kośas, *Kīcaka* is the name of a Daitya or Rākṣas, the later term for the asuras (SWB). The principal *Kīcaka* was a Kaikeya prince and in another place the *Kīcakas* are a sub-tribe of the Kaikeyas (MBh. 1, 6085; 4, 815).

(2) As regards *-ācā*, no non-Indian equivalent affix can be found, because *ā* is a purely Indian sound. So we can know about the nature of its initial vowel by a consideration of its effect in Sanskrit words only. Looking to

śakata, *markata*, (though we have *śaci* from the same $\sqrt{\text{śak}}$ (c), under the palatalizing -i-) it becomes clear, that the initial vowel of -aṭa does not represent any palatal sound. And with this suffix we have *Kikata* reducible to the same *Kik*. The *Kikatas* are said to be not worshipping the Devas and so they are hostilely referred to in the Rg-veda (3, 53, 14). Their cows are envied by the R̥ṣis and they cannot be the miserable creatures of Magadha. Besides, they must have been famous for horses, for *Kikata* itself means a horse. The *Kikatas*, then, were some Western Tribe. Besides, there is no other indication in the Rg-Veda that the R̥ṣis knew the Eastern Provinces with any degree of familiarity.

(3) *Kekayah* being the name of a people must be a plural. In fact it is so taken by Apte in his Dictionary. Its singular should then be *keki* or *kaiki* (*Kaikayah* is also a variant). As the names of peoples in Sanskrit are very often derived from their country or some eponymous ancestor, it is perfectly pertinent to suppose that *Kaiki*- is a derivative of *Kik*, quite regular according to the rules of Paṇini (4, 1, 92 ; 95). This is supported by the aforementioned derivation of *Kīcaka* and *Kikata*.

(4) This connects the Kaikeyas with the Kiks of Iran—the tribe to which Vishtaspa the Patron of Zarathushtra belonged and to whom this name was given by its enemies and later in Pahlavi literature it is by this name that the unbelieving members of this tribe are referred to. But had it been merely sound connection it would not have deserved consideration at our hands. It is however found that it is supported by a host of other circumstances. Can it be supposed that the revolution created by Zarathushtra was quite unknown in India ? Was it of a very small magnitude ? Was the deprecation of the Daeva cult not heard of in India ? Did not the Indians, then, hear of the

nicknames of the principal Iranian tribe who first helped Zarathushtra? Now the only foreign people about whose religion we hear anything from the Vedic records are the Kaikayas. Their king was Aśvapati—"master of horses"—exactly equivalent to Vishtaspa—"possessed of horses". He only knew about Vaiśvānara—the life, the breath of the Universe—the Great Asura—the Spirit of the Sun.

(5) To the Indians the most despicable thing of the Iranians was naturally their māntra, and this we find personified as the devil-incarnate—the avatāra of the Burning Sun (*Dundubhi*—as the Mahābhārata says) in the maid of the Queen Kaikeyī of the Rāmāyaṇa. At least this much will be conceded that Manthara (a Vedic pronunciation of māntra) was a Kaikeyi word and that identifies the Kaikeyas with the Avestan-speaking people without any ado. (I have further given elsewhere my reasons to hold that the word was imported in India from the Gāthic-speaking people.)

(6) In the list of the Pāisācī dialects, in which Bālhiki is included, Kekayi is called the principal dialect of that group. Now we know that the Pīsācas replaced the Vedic Asuras in later literature.

(7) Zarathushtra is said to have defeated Gaotema in discussion. This is in the later Avesta. In the Gāthās the opposing teacher was one Aruna Khrafstra (which Mills equates with Aruna kalpastṛu). Now in the Vedic literature Uddalaka Aruni Gautama is said to have gone to the Kaikeyas to know about the Vaiśvānara cult which was specially known to their king. There was a discussion in which he with others from India was defeated (Chh. UP. v. 11, 1ff.).

(8) In the Parsi tradition (Desatir, p. 95) it is said that one Senkerakaś from India came to argue with Zarathushtra and was defeated. Exactly the same name ap-

pears to have been borne by one of the companions of Gautama—Sārkarākṣya. (It is of interest to remember that *r* and *n* have got one sign in Pahlavi, and so the original either in Desatir or its source might have read Serkerakaš.)

(9) Scholars are agreed that the leader of the opponents of Zarathushtra was one Bendva, mentioned in the Gāthās (Yas. 49, 12). In the Jaiminiya Brahmana, there appears one Asurbinda Auddalki, a son or a disciple (most probably the former, because no second son is mentioned later) of Gautama mentioned above (para 5) (see V. I., vol. I, p. 176). In MBh. (VIII, 13) it is said that the leader of the Kaikeya forces which fought on the side of Duḥśasana, Duryodhana (corresponding to Dussastis, Dusexshatra of the Gāthās—Yas. 32,9; 48,5) was Binda with his brother Anubinda. (It would be complicating the argument to place here all the evidence I have got to show that the central part of the story of the Mahābhārata is taken from an Iranian source probably connected with Ayādgar i-Zariran. I have briefly referred to them in my article, entitled "The Date of Zoroaster", appearing in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*.)

(10) Similarly Rustam of mighty deeds, the General of Gushtasp (Vishtaspa) appears as Ugrakarma—he of mighty deeds—the leader of those Kaikeyas who were pro-Pandavas (Pandava itself meaning 'white' which is equivalent of Spitama, the sur-(or family) name of Zarathushtra (having four brothers). I have shown elsewhere the identity of Zarathushtra with Yudhisthira (MBh. VIII, 82). Frashahward of Shahnama is translated as Vr̥hatkṣetra in MBh. (VI, 44). Maidyo-i maungha (middle-moon-dark-moon) Kṛṣṇa-candra. Or it may have simply degenerated into Mādhava, according to the laws of Inorganic Philology (see JBORS, 1923, p. 190). This latter may appear fantastic at first sight, but when we know that he is an

assura (a-devih) defeated by Indra on the banks of the Yamunā (RV. 8, 96, 13-15—Sayāna's commentary) an asura in the Atharva-veda (8,6,5), and in Buddhist Pitaka, is said to have been descended (in another geneology preserved in the Harivamśa) from Asura Madhu (? Medha-mazda), and that in the Vedic and Purāṇic literature he is definitely anti-Vedic and anti-Indra, we feel serious over this suggestion. Maidyo-i-maongha disappears from Parsi tradition after Zarathushtra, and appears without his early history in the Chh. Up. and MBh. and preaches doctrines closely allied to Zarathushtra's: (1) Right action as a means of salvation, (2) Divine Messenger, and (3) salvation for all—the first two being not found anywhere in the whole of the Vedic literature including the Upanisads and the latter being opposed to the Brahmin's idea of the Sudras. His teachings are contained (much super-added) in the Gāthās of Bhaga—the term for god among the Iranians (Bhagvad-Gita) and are comparable in some detail with those of Zarathushtra in his Gāthās of the Avesta. In the Chh. Up. which mentions Kṛṣṇa's ethical anti-Vedic (there is hardly any ethical teaching in the Vedic literature—see Keith, RPV, pp. 584 f.), the teachings of the Kaikeya king are also referred to. There too is found (not as of the Kaikeyas) the peculiar doctrine of personal mediation of Zarathushtra at the Cinvat-peretu (Yas. 46. 10). It is said that after the Soul, on death, reaches the Moon from where the roads diverge,

Tat puruṣaḥ amānvah sa enām brahma gamyati

(There is a person superhuman (amānvah), he leads them to Brahman—SBE, I, p. 80 ff.)

Is not Zarathushtra distinctly visible there ?

In the Kauṣītaki Up. (I, 2) the moon is called the door of Heaven *svargasya lokasya dvāram*, while accord-

ing to Ner. (comm. Yas. 46, 10) the bridge to heaven is over R. Candori—a heavenly river.

(11) There are many other details dealt with in my larger essay, but these are the important ones. The one conclusive besides the identity of Asvapati with Vishtaspa, Aurunaxrafastr̥ (Gaotema) with Gautama Uddalaka Āruni and Senkerakaś with Śārkārākṣya, is the fact mentioned in all the readings of the Rāmāyaṇa that the messenger despatched from Ayodhya to the Kekaya country had to pass through Bālhika before he reached their kingdom (R. II, 68, 11-22). And Bālhika is Bactria.

A NOTE ON "PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA".

By S. K. HODIVALA, B.A.

India has a brilliant history of its own and its pre-historic history also is very interesting both from general and scientific points of view. This note proposes to throw a glance on the Pre-Musalman History from a few facts presented by the recent learned and interesting publication of Prof. V. Rangacharya, entitled "History of Pre-Musalman India".

Inquiries into the geological evolution and geographical configuration of India show that early Indians had their own art as depicted in the early drawings and paintings, found in different parts of India. Coming to the Neolithic Age, we find a further evolution of arts, crafts, religion and mode of living of that age. There was no bronze age in India as in China. In southern India the stone age passed on to the iron age direct ; on the other hand in northern India the stone age was followed by a copper age, and then by an iron age.

Mr. C. Brown supposed that iron was introduced into India after the end of the Rigvedic period, namely about 1000 B.C. but copper had been in use several centuries before that date. An interesting question arises as to whether the knowledge of copper (Sanskrit *tamba*, Tamil *sembu*, Telegu *rāgi*) was derived from the Tamils and Dravidians of southern India by the Aryans of northern India or *vice versa*. It seems credible that the civilized dwellers of the Sindhu valley were indebted to the Egyptians and the Babylonians for the use of copper, and that from

them the southern Dravidians came to know about the use of this metal.

One of the chief ethnological strata of India was a Turanian population, sometime before 3000 B.C. The aborigines of India soon came under Sumerian influence. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro afford a clear proof of the Sumerian influence on the early Indian art, culture and civilization. So far as the Aryans and Dravidians were concerned there was no perceptible ethnological difference between them; the comparative tallness and fairness of the Aryans were the only distinctive features.

The question of the determination of the age of the composition of the Rigveda is important. As pointed out by Prof. Rangacharya, several savants have studied the question from different view-points. Haug in his translation of the Aitareya Brahmana put the Vedic age somewhere near 2400 B.C. Max Müller fixed it at a comparatively recent date of 1000 B.C. The views of Tilak and Jacobi based on astronomical facts and events mentioned in the Vedic texts indicated the lowest limit to be 2500 B.C. Whitney, Thebaut, Macdonell, Keith and Oldenberg all thought that Max Müller's estimate of the Vedic age was nearer the mark. My opinion is that among other reasons the great affinity of the Gathic and the Vedic languages decides the question in favour of a medium period of 1200 to 1500 B.C., although according to the Greek and other writers the age of the old Avestan people can be placed back by about 5000 years before the Trojan war.

The determination of the original home of the Aryans is also a difficult problem. The Airanvej referred to in the Vendidad was probably some region in the north, or even near the north pole, but there is no gainsaying the fact

that in more recent age, the home of the Aryans was somewhere in Central Asia, from which the Hindu Aryans migrated to the East and the Persians and others to the West. The theory of the north Indian home of the Aryans seems to me fanciful and of little value.

Prof. Rangacharya has done well by placing before us all the different views of well known writers on several important points of the history of India, and we have no doubt that in the forthcoming volumes we may look forward to have much interesting and up-to-date information.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1929.

Government Fellowship Lectures.—Rev. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., as the Government Fellowship Lecturer of this Institute for 1929, delivered a series of six lectures on “God in the Gathas and in the Rigveda” as under:—

1. Introduction:—“History of the Problem and the Method of its Solution”, on 25th November 1929.
2. “One God or many Gods”, on 28th November 1929.
3. “God, Supreme or Subordinate”, on 11th December 1929.
4. “God, Person or Power”, on 13th December 1929.
5. “Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu”, on 16th December 1929.
6. “God in the Rigveda”, on 17th December 1929.

A Lecture.—On the 4th October 1929, an informal meeting was held to meet Dr. G. Morgenstierne, who was sent by the Norwegian Institute of Comparative Study of Human Culture to Kafiristan to make researches regarding the race and language of the Red Kaffirs. Dr. Morgenstierne related shortly the history of the people, their customs and beliefs, their language and observances. At the end he replied to different questions asked by the members present.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the Death of Mr. K. R. Cama.—The twentieth anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Thursday the 22nd August 1929 at 6 p.m. (S.T.) in the Hall of the Institute, when Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi delivered a discourse on "A Layman Dastur, Mr. Kharshedji Rustomji Cama".

Publications.—During the year under report, four numbers of the Journal containing the following matters were published :—

1. An English translation with important notes and summary of the five Zoroastrian Gathas, made by Mr. Khodabux Edalji Punegar, B.A., for which he was awarded the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of this Institute (Journal No. XII).

2. (a) Indo-Iranian Philology. A Study of Semantic Etymology by Prof. Ernest P. P. Horowitz of Hunter College, New York City, being a series of eight Government Fellowship Lectures of this Institute. (b) "A Petition in Persian Verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jahangir", by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (c) "The Zend-Avesta and the Magyars" by Prof. Francis Zajti (Journal No. XIII).

3. An English translation of classical passages on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, by President W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada (Journal No. XIV).

4. "The Foundations of the Iranian Religions", being a series of Bai Ratanbai Katrak Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1925, by Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D., of Columbia University (Journal No. XV).

Besides the four Nos. 12-15 of the Journal issued during the year the undermentioned works were published

as the publications of the Institute, the first four being reprints of matter printed in the Journal:—

Publication No. 2.—“Indo-Iranian Philology. A Study of Semantic Etymology”, by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz.

Publication No. 3.—“The Gathas, translated and summarised”, by Mr. K. E. Punegar, B.A.

Publication No. 4.—“Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism”, translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A.

Publication No. 5.—“The Foundations of the Iranian Religions”, by Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D.

Publication No. 6.—નવસારીની વડી દરમેહેરમાં થયેલા નાવરોની ફેહરેસ્ત ઈ. સ. ૧૬૩૩ થી ૧૯૨૮ સુધીના તથા વડી દરમેહેરમાં થયેલી નીરંગદીન અને વરસ્યાની નોંધ. સંગ્રહ કરનાર:—એરવદ માહીયાર નવરોજી કુતાર. (The Fehrest of the Nāvars at Navsari from A.D. 1633 to 1928 including a memo of the Nirangdins and Varasyas by Ervad Mahyar Nowroji Kutar.)

The Naoroji Pestonji Cama and Navazbai Naoroji Cama Prize (Rs. 1000).—A Prize Competitive Essay on “The History of the Peshdadyan and Kyanyan Kings of Persia, based on all sources, especially Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend” was invited by 30th June 1929, and in response one essay was received. Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., and Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar, M.A., were appointed examiners to examine the said essay. The examiners having found the essay unworthy of the prize, no prize was given.

The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essay (Rs. 500).—A Prize Competitive Translation of specified Khordeh Avesta prayers was invited by 31st May 1929 and in response, two essays were received, bearing the pseudonyms of “Humility” and .સરશકેશભાઈ.સરશકેશભાઈ.સરશકેશભાઈ.સરશકેશભાઈ.સરશકેશભાઈ.

Mr. Ratanji Fardoonji Gorvala, M.A., and Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, M.A., were appointed examiners to examine the said two essays. As recommended by the examiners, the prize of Rs. 500 was equally divided among the two competitors, who were Mr. Khodabax Edalji Punegar, B.A., and Ervad Manek Furdunji Kanga.

The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essay (Rs. 500).—A Prize Competitive Translation of a few Yashts was invited for a prize of Rs. 225 by 31st December 1928 but by that date no translation was received. Thereon, another prize essay has been invited by the 31st December 1930 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of Rs. 500 as under:—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the following Yashts in due accordance with Grammar and Philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary:—Yashts: Ābā, Khorshed, Māh, Tir, Gōsh, Meher, Rashna, Farvardin, Rām, and Din”.

Books repaired.—During the year under report, 82 Mss. of the Library were repaired and bound at a cost of Rs. 192.

The English Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad.—To commemorate the 20th anniversary of the passing away of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, an anonymous donor offered an amount of Rs. 1,000 for getting an English translation of the Avesta Vendidad prepared by a Parsi scholar with a request to start a fund so that a prize of Rs. 3,000 be offered for same and that the prize be given on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama's birth on the 11th November 1931. The Executive Committee thanked the donor for his offer and requested him to allow the Executive Committee to utilize the amount for an English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad, as there is none published, whereas there are several of the Avesta text, and to increase the amount to Rs. 2,000. The

donor having kindly agreed to have his gift of Rs. 1,000 employed for an English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad, the Executive Committee have entrusted the work of preparing a transliteration and translation of the same to Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., on an honorarium of Rs. 2,000.

Resolutions of Sorrow:—The Executive Committee passed the following resolution of sorrow for the demise of Prof. Karl F. Geldner:—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, express their deep regret at the sad demise of Prof. Karl F. Geldner of Marburg University, and record their appreciation of his great scholarship in the fields of Iranian and Sanskrit Philology. His services to Iranian studies are indeed valuable. The Edition of the Avesta, to mention only one great work published by him, has laid Iranian scholarship as well as the Parsi Community under a deep obligation and is a lasting monument of his learning.”

The resolution was communicated to Mrs. Geldner and a suitable reply received from her.

The following resolution was passed on the occasion of the death of Mr. Jehangir Rustomji Patel, a son-in-law of the late Mr. K. R. Cama:—

“The Committee records its sense of grief at the death of Mr. Jehangir Rustomji Patel, who was a member of the Executive Committee for ten years (from 22nd July 1919). Mr. Patel had kindly given to this Institute Rs. 2,700 for sending a scholar to Naosari, Surat and Broach, to collect information about Iranian Mss. in various libraries there. Mr. Jehangir Patel took a great interest in the Institute from the very time of his joining it as a member.”

Maneckji Limji Hateria Library.—Dr. N. N. Katrak having communicated the wish of the Managing Committee of the Bhagarsath Anjuman Atashbehrām to hand over to this Institute the Maneckji Limji Hateria Library, which was affiliated with their Fire-Temple, along with the fund of Rs. 5,000, belonging to the said Library, the Executive Committee intimated that they would receive the same, provided the transfer was sanctioned by the Court and they were allowed to dispose of such manuscripts and books as owing to their possession of other copies or for other reasons they did not think it desirable to keep. The Managing Committee of the Atashbehrām thereupon applied to the Court which sanctioned the transfer to our Institute of such manuscripts and books as we were willing to keep permanently together with the fund of Rs. 5,000. The Court's order was passed on 15th July 1929 and since then all the manuscripts and such of the printed books as seemed useful for this Institute have been brought down and kept separate in the six cupboards belonging to the said Library and received with the books.

A Building for the Institute.—The Executive Committee having found the present premises gradually becoming insufficient to accommodate the Library, considered the question of having a building of its own for the Institute and a sub-committee of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria and Mr. Kaikhushru H. Cama was appointed to consider the question and report upon it. Inquiries were made in respect of five vacant plots but the terms were not found suitable. Inquiries were also made about ready-made buildings and seven buildings were inspected but none of them was found suitable for the purposes of the Institute.

Book Committee.—In the matter of purchase of books for the Institute Library, a Book Committee of Dr. Jivanji

J. Modi, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria and Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji was appointed to select and buy books for the Institute's Library to the extent of Rs. 700 a year.

Members of the Institute.—In the beginning of the year, there were 222 Life Members. Owing to the death of five members and increase of two, the number of Life Members at the end of the year stood at 219.

There were 71 Annual Members in the beginning of the year. On account of the death of one member and the resignation of two members and the addition of one new member, at the end of the year, the total number of Annual Members was 69.

New Life Members.—Jivaji Shapurji Dhanjibhai, Esq., Lt.-Col. M. J. Kelawala.

New Annual Member.—M. Framji, Esq.

Donations.—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the donors of the undermentioned sums, received during the year under report:—

In memory of the 20th Anniversary of the passing away of Mr. Sarosh K. R. Cama, which fell on 6th November 1928, from the family of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, for publishing the translation and summary of the Gathas prepared by Mr. K. E. Punegar, B.A.	... 400
Messrs. Fredyson's Indo-German Trading Co.	21
The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute for the publication of the translation and summary of the Gathas by Mr. K. E. Punegar, B.A.	300
Sohrabji Burjorji Mehta, Esq.	... 25
In memory of Seth Jijibhoi Dadabhoi on his anniversary on 23rd April 1929	... 5

In memory of my Aimai on her anniversary on 25th April 1929...	Rs. 5
Anonymous, for publishing an English Trans- lation of the Pahlavi Vendidad to com- memorate the Centenary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama's birth (11th November 1931) being the first instalment of Rs. 1,000.	655-4-4
The sister and children of late Bai Aimai K. R. Cama in memory of the 34th anniversasy of her passing away for the Aimai K. R. Cama Prize Fund	50
Jivaji Shapurji Dhanjibhai, Esq.	100
The Trustees of the N. J. Wadia Charity Fund	150

The following donations were received in connection with the publication of the Navsari Nāvar and Nirangdin Fehrest :—

The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties	Rs. 50
Sir Ratan Tata Charities	500
The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute	300
The N. M. Wadia Charities	200
M. P. Khareghat, Esqr.	150
Ervad Edalji Burzoji Mulla Charity Fund	125
Kavasji Jalbhoy Sett, Esqr.	101
Sir Hormusjee Cowasji Dinshaw, M.V.O., O.B.E.	100
Bai Ratanbai Edalji Bamji	100
A Zarthoshti	100
Rustomji Kavasji Modi, Esqr.	100
Dhanjishah Bapuji Desai, Esqr.	51
Edalji Shapurji Olpadvala, Esqr.	51
Dr. Pestonji Bhikhaji Nariman	50

Sir Phiroze C. Sethna	... Rs.	50
Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi	... ..	31
Late Mr. Mehrwanji Nanabhoy Mehta	... ..	31
Bapuji Hormusji Saklatvala, Esqr.	... ..	25
Dinshaji Ratanji Daboo, Esqr.	... ..	25
Capt. Sohrab R. Modi	... ..	25
Naoshirwan P. Modi, Esqr.	... ..	25
Rustomji E. Modi, Esqr.	... ..	15
R. M. Vazifdar, Esqr.	... ..	10
Furrokh Sohrabji Mulla, Esqr.	... ..	10
M. S. Kanga, Esqr.	... ..	10
M. M. Pavri, Esqr.	... ..	10
Jamshedji Edalji Kutar, Esqr.	... ..	5
Hormusji A. Sethna, Esqr.	... ..	5
Furdoonji R. Modi, Esqr.	... ..	5

Gifts of Books and Journals.—The best thanks of the Committee are due to the institutions and private individuals, who have kindly presented books, journals, reports etc. to the Institute, as under:—

BOOKS PRESENTED.

Ostiranische Nominalflexion (by Paul Tedesco)
(presented by the author).

Ratnasamucichaya or A Comprehensive and Classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Works (by Mehr Chand Lachhman Das) (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vols. I-XVI
(presented by the Calcutta University).

वेदान्ताभ्यास साधनः—अक्षरसूत्र शारीरिकतु व्याख्यान (presented by Mr. Damoder Sunderdass).

साधन चिकित्सा: शिवशाहीचा चर्चात्मक इतिहास (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

सांख्यदर्शनम्. शुद्ध २ भाषांतर, टीका सहित.

નવસારી નગરીના નામાંકીત નર માહાપ્રતાપી કેશાઈજ સાહેબ
“પુરોજી આપા”ના નેક કામોનો ઉત્તેજાળ.

The Conference of the Birds (R. P. Masani, M.A.)
(presented by the author).

Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of
Archæology (presented by the Bijapur Museum of Library).

A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library,
Parts I and II (presented by the Director, Adyar
Library, Madras).

The Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Adyar Library
(presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library, Upanisads.
(presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

Beitrage zur Erklarung des Awestas und des Vedas.
by Johannes Hertel (presented by the author).

Cama Oriental Institute Papers by Dr. J. J. Modi
(presented by the author).

South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part IV—Copper-
plate grants from Sinnamanur Tirukkalar and Tiruch-
chengodu by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri (presented by
the Government of India, Calcutta).

Slokas Grammaticaux de Thonmi Sumbhota: Avec
leurs Commentaires by Jacques Bacot (presented by Musée-
Guimet).

Catalogue of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic
Society, Part I—Authors and Part II—Subjects by P. B.
Gothaskar (presented by the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society,
Bombay).

પાવ મહેલની કીચાઓ તેની ખુબીઓ સાથે, કર્તા ચેરવક નોરોસ્વાન
નવરોજ ઉનવાલા (“અરમે ખાદેમાને કરાનચાહ” તરફથી લેહ).

હરતલેખો:—

બંદાગીર નામું ગુજરાતીમાં હાથકું લખેલું.

હીંદી શાહનામું હાથનું લખેલું.

ગુજરાતી શાહનામું ૪ ભાગમાં ગુજરાતીમાં લખેલું.

પુરાણ શીરીન ગુજરાતીમાં હાથનું લખેલું ભાગ ૧ અને ૨.

(All the above 4 Mss. have been presented by an anonymous donor through Dr. Dhunjibhoy N. Patel.)

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XVIII (presented by the Calcutta University).

The Genealogy of the Naosari Parsi Priests by Ervad Rustomji J. Dastur Meherjirana (presented by Dr. J. J. Modi).

Masonic Papers by Dr. J. J. Modi (presented by the author).

A Biographical Sketch of Behramji M. Malbari by Dayaram Gidumal (presented by Mr. J. M. Malbari).

અવસ્તાના જવાહીરો તથા અન્ય ધર્મોની સરખામણીઓ પુસ્તક પહેલું અને બીજું (બાઈ ધનમાય ફરામજી અરબની તરફથી ભેટ મળ્યું).

ફરામરોજ નામું ગુજરાતી હાથનું લખેલું.

કારાળ નામું, વાલમ ત્રિ જી અને પાંચમું હાથનું લખેલું.

સોહરાબનું દાસ્તાન હાથનું લખેલું.

બહમન નામું, વાલમ પહે અને બીજું (હાથનું લખેલું).

તુલુએ આફઘાન ઈઆને સુર્ષ પ્રકાશ.

Resala-e Istashadat or the work containing Evidences on the non-existence of Kubbeesa in the Pure Religion of Zoroaster.

Shah-nameh in Persian with paintings.

Dabestan in Persian.

Anwar-e Soheli in Persian.

Dewan-e Hafiz in Persian.

Javidan-e Kherad in Persian.

(The last 11 books were presented by a gentleman who did not wish his name to be published, through Dr. Jivanji J. Modi.)

JOURNALS PRESENTED.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4, December 1928; Vol. V, No. 1, March 1929.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 7, Heft 3-4; Band 8, Heft 1-2, 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy, 1929.

Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires, Tome CCXI, No. 2, October to December 1927; Tome CCXII, No. 1, January—March 1929.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIII, 1927, Nos. 3-4; Vol. No. 1, 1928.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, January, April and July 1929.

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 2-3 (1928) and Heft 1 (1929).

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, No. XI, November and No. XII, December 1928; Nos. I-VI, January-June 1929.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December 1928.

Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, No. 4, October-December 1928.

The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXV, Nos. 81-82, January and April 1929.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 48, No. 4, December 1928; Vol. 49, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1929.

Bulletin of the Iran League, Vol. 1, No. 9, November 1928, and Vol. I, Nos. 10-11, December 1928, January-February 1929; Vol. I, Nos. 13-17, March-July 1929.

British Mazdaznan, Vol. V, Nos. 5-9, January-May 1929.

नागरि प्रचरिणी पत्रिका भाग ६ अंक ४.

عصر پهلوی (for the months of Bahman and Asfandarmad (1297) and Farvardin (1298).)

The Humanist, Vol. I, Nos. 10-12, March-May 1929; Vol. II, Nos. 1-5, June-October 1929.

Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities for 1928.

Asiatica, Vol. II, No. 1, January-February 1929.

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Vol. 4, 1928.

કેમુદી; સાહિત્ય અને સંસ્કારિતાનું ત્રૈમાસીક પુસ્તક ૪, અંક ૧, કાર્તિક ૧૯૮૪, પુસ્તક ૫, અંક ૨ જા, માધ્યમ ૧૯૮૫; અંક ૩ જા.

રાહ જરથુસ્ત્ર, પુસ્તક ૧૧ મું, અંક ૧, ૨ માર્ચ થી જુન ૧૯૨૬.

Muslim Review (Quarterly), Vol. III, No. 1 (July to September 1928) and Vol. III, No. 3 (January to March 1929).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. V, Part II, 1929.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, January to April 1929.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 1, March 1929.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 41 (Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley).

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 8 : The Inscriptions of Nagai.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 7, for the year 1929.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. X, 1929.

Report of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for 1928-29.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. III, Parts 2, 3 and 4 for the months of October 1928 and January and April 1929.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society for March 1929.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 4, and Vol. X, No. 1.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1928.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Kern Institute, London, for the year 1927.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1928.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books have been purchased during the year under report:—

Cuneiform Inscription relating to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

Arabic Literature (by H. A. R. Gibb).

A Short History of the Saracens (by Ameer Ali Syed).

Sikander Nama e Bara or Book of Alexander the Great (by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke).

A Literary History of the Arabs (by Reynold A. Nicholson).

The Geographical Works of Sadik Isfahani (by J. C.).

Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, Vols. I and II.

Hymns of Zoroaster by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie.

First Book of Sanskrit by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Histoire de l'Extreme-Orient, Parts I and II.

An Introduction to Dravidian Philology by C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Lt.

An Oriental Biographical Dictionary (by Henry George Keene).

Dictionary of Geography, History, Biography, Etymology, and Chronology, Vols. I and II (by George R. Emerson).

Etymological Gujarati-English Dictionary (by M. B. Belsare).

Ten Thousand Miles in Persia by P. M. Sykes.

Armaghan in Persian, Vols. I to IX.

Persian Ms. of Khusro-Shirin.

Journal "Kaveh" in Persian for the year 1921.

Gujarati Dnyanakosha, Part I (the whole set of 20 Volumes) is ordered out.

Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique.

The Audited Accounts are attached hereto:—

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES.				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	1,98,929	14	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,124	15	2
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,746	3	6
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,727	6	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,027	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,667	2	0
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,387	3	0
Revayat Publication Fund	...	...	...	4,143	6	6
Pehlavi Vandidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	655	4	4
Total				2,68,938	15	2

KAIKHUSHRU BORMUSJI CAMA,
Hon. Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

31st December 1929.

ASSETS.			Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with the Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 14,479):—					
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	1,074	8	9
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	918	11	6
All other Accounts	...	...	12,485	11	9
Securities of Rs. 2,52,345-11-10:—					
(With the Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt).					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 74,200	...	...	58,806	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
6 per cent Ten Year Bonds of Rs. 74,300	...	...	74,450	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	2,114	3	4
Total			2,68,938	15	2

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,

Incorporated Accountants (London).

Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1930

THE K. R. CAMA

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT.				Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1929 (Rs. 2,00,260-0-5):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	383	10	7
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,98,019	14	6
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	1,856	7	4
CASH CREDITS (Rs. 25,491-8-2):—						
Life and Annual Membership subscription ...	...	...	...	930	0	0
General Donations ...	...	...	...	306	0	0
Donation for Navsari Navar Fehrest ...	...	...	...	2,700	0	0
Donation for Mr. Punegar's Gathas ...	...	...	...	700	0	0
Sale proceeds of 6 per cent Government Promis-						
sory Notes of 1931 of the face value of						
Rs. 10,000 ...	...	...	...	10,211	5	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,693	13	4
Fees for use of Institute Hall ...	...	...	...	14	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's						
Account ...	...	...	...	861	12	0
Sundry receipts including sale-proceeds of books,						
journals, etc. ...	...	...	...	255	2	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES recovered from:—						
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	18	13	10
Bai Aimag K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	8	11	0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund ...	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	125	11	0
The Mulla Feroze Library ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 369):—						
Additions to Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	369	0	0
Total Rs.				2,26,120	8	7

KAIKHUSHRU HORMUSJI CAMA,

Hon. Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. Account No. 1.

year ending 31st December 1929.

DEBIT.			Rs.	a.	p.
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 17,017-0-6):—					
Salaries and Wages	...	...	3,804	12	9
Rent	...	...	3,300	0	0
Cost of copying, indexing and printing the					
Navsari Navar Fehrest	...	...	3,679	0	0
Cost of printing other publications including					
Mr. Punegar's Gathas	...	...	4,418	2	0
Books and Periodicals purchased	...	...	643	13	6
Stationery and Printing	...	...	133	12	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	225	15	9
Clothing to Peons	...	...	60	0	0
Insurance	...	...	28	2	0
Cost of addition to Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	369	0	0
Other General Charges	...	...	354	6	6
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 10,173-9-8):—					
Cost price of 6 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1931 of Rs. 10,000 face value sold	...	...	10,062	5	8
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	111	4	0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1929 (Rs. 1,98,929-14-5):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of the face value of	Rs. 59,800		47,018	12	0
5 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of	" 500		500	0	0
6 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1931 of the face value of	" 24,000		24,150	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds					
of the face value of	" 500		500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds					
of the face value of	" 1,15,500		1,15,788	12	0
Cash with Bank	...	...	8,858	2	3
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	2,114	3	4
	Total Rs.		2,26,120	8	7

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1930.

No.
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Journal Printing	...	...		1,756	2	0
Administration charges	...	...		125	11	9
Balance 31-12-29:—						
Bonds	...	30,000	0 0			
Cash	...		124 15 2			
				30,124	15	2
				32,006	12	2

No.

DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	...	861	12	0
Balance as per contra	...	...		14,529	8	0
				15,391	4	0

No.

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Prize awarded	...	...		500	0	0
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...		0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...		18	13	10
Balance 31st Dec.:—						
Securities as per contra—						
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0 0			
6 per cent War Bonds	...	3,700	0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	127	8 0			
Cash	...		918 11 6			
				5,746	3	6
				6,265	2	4

2.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1929:—							
Bonds	...	30,000	0	0			
Cash	...	211	4	2	30,211	4	2
Interest	...	...	...	...	1,795	8	0
					32,006	12	2

3.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
6 per cent Bonds	...	14,400	0	0			
Cash	...	129	8	0	14,529	8	0
Interest	...	...	...	...	861	12	0
					15,391	4	0

4.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0	0			
6 per cent War	...	3,700	0	0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...						
(F. V. 200)	...	127	8	0			
Cash	...	1,170	4	4	5,997	12	4
Interest	...	...	...	...	267	6	0
					6,265	2	4

No.

BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...	0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...	8	11	0
Balance 31-12-29					
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds...	1,300	0 0			
6 p.c. War „ ...	700	0 0			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes ..	652	14 0			
Cash	1,074	8 9			
			3,727	6	9
			3,736	2	9

No.

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 31st. Dec.:—					
Securities	...	...	2,379	9	0
Cash	...	...	648	6	6
			3,027	15	6

No.

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration expenses	..		48	5	6
Administration charges	...	..	6	4	0
Balance:—					
War Bonds	...	1,500 0 0			
Cash	...	167 2 0	1,667	2	0
			1,721	11	6

5.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds	1,300	0	0				
6 per cent War Bonds	...	700	0	0			
3½ per cent G.P. Notes							
Face Value Rs. 900	...	652	14	0			
Cash	...	910	12	9	3,563	10	9
Donation received	...				50	0	0
Interest on Securities	...				122	8	0
					3,736	2	9

6.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st. Jan. 1929:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes							
F.V. Rs. 3,700	...	2,379	9	0			
Cash	...	519	6	6	2,898	15	6
Interest	...				129	0	0
					3,027	15	6

7.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
War Bonds	...	1,500	0	0			
Cash	...	131	15	6	1,631	15	6
Interest	...				89	12	0
					1,721	11	6

No.

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—					
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	...	5,000	0	0
Cash	...	...	1,387	3	0
			6,387	3	0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—					
Securities as per contra	...	...	3,628	4	0
Cash	...	...	515	2	6
			4,143	6	6

No.

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—					
Cash	...	...	655	4	4
			655	4	4

8.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000	0	0				
Cash	1,212	9	0		6,212	9	0
Interest					174	10	0
					6,387	3	0

9.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes							
Face Value Rs. 4,600 ...	3,628	4	0				
Cash	354	14	6		3,983	2	6
Interest					160	4	0
					4,143	6	6

10.

TRANSLATION FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Donation received					655	4	4
					655	4	4

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 18.



EDITED BY
SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D.



BOMBAY:

PRINTED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZAGON.

London Agents : LUZAC AND CO., 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

1931.

This number contains an English translation of Prof. Bartholomae's German treatise, "Zum Sasanidischen Recht" (Notes on Sasanian Law), Part I. The translation is prepared under the auspices of this Institute, by Mr. L. Bogdanov.

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The present writer was entrusted by Shams-ul-Ulama DR. J. J. MODI, (now Sir J. J. Modi, Kt.), the then Honorary Secretary of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on behalf of the Journal of the said Institute, with the translation into English of Prof. CH. BARTHOLOMÆ's series of essays on Sasanian Law as far back as 1922. That series was originally published in the Proceedings of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences ("Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften") and consists of six essays issued at unequal periods from 1910 to 1923. The first essay in the series bears the title "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" (in our translation "Notes on a Sasanian Law-Book") and may be considered as forming the introductory part of the series. The remaining five essays bear all the same title "Zum sasanidischen Recht" (rendered by us "Notes on Sasanian Law") and are respectively numbered as Parts I, II, III, IV and V. That numeration, owing to a certain delay in sending the translated Parts of the series to the Press, as they were delivered, and the departure of the present writer from Bombay, first to Bengal and then on a protracted journey to Afghanistan, led to a mistake, most natural in the circumstances, on the part of the office of the Cama Institute, owing to which the writer's manuscript marked "PART I" was sent to the Press in the first instance, before the essay which constitutes the "INTRODUCTORY PART" (although not so marked and bearing a different title from the rest of the series). The great distance and the difficulty of communications (the foreign mails used to reach the writer in Kabul *normally* once in a fortnight, and very often only once a month) prevented us from discovering that mistake in due time, and it was already too late to reverse the course, when it was ultimately noticed. As that introductory essay is at present in the press and is due to appear before long, the inconvenience caused thereby is only slight and amounts merely to our inability to quote the pages and lines of our English translation wherever reference to the "Notes on a Sasanian Law-Book" is being made in the text of "Part I", which is here submitted to our readers.

The translation of the series proved to be an extremely arduous task, and the reading of the proofs and the putting of the individual essays into a shape fit for publication was even more so. The more welcome for the present writer was therefore the willingness of the author himself (with whom the

writer, on being entrusted with the translation, immediately entered into correspondence in order to obtain Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ's consent as well as the elucidation of certain points in connection with the author's treatment of the subject) to read the first proofs of the English translation of his works in connection with questions of Sasanian Law.

About two years elapsed, however, owing to accumulation of material, before the translations could be sent to the Press, and it took almost one year for the first galley-proof of "Part I" to be composed and corrected, which involved its being sent from Bombay to Kabul, from Kabul to Heidelberg and back again. The untimely death from heart-failure (in August 1925, at Langerook) of Prof. CH. BARTHOLOMÆ deprived the present writer of the kind assistance tendered to him in his difficult task by the great German savant.

The difficulties in translation referred to were chiefly due to the peculiarities of the late Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ's manner of exposition of his subject: practically not a single reference in his writings is given in full, all titles of books, articles, manuscripts, etc., being given in the form of abbreviations of an extremely lapidary nature devised by the author himself and not used anywhere else in literature, besides the ordinary abbreviations of names of well-known periodicals which are in common use and intelligible for everybody. The keys to the interpretation of those cryptic signs, under which well-known (or otherwise) works are concealed, are again scattered in several previous works of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ ("Altiranisches Wörterbuch"; "Zur Kenntniss der mitteliranischen Mundarten"; "Zendhandschriften"), of which one (the last mentioned) was unavailable in India and had to be got by the present writer, after a long delay, from Europe. No lists of abbreviations are attached by the author to the individual essays of our series. We thought it imperative to compile and attach to each volume of the series in our translation a full list of abbreviations used in the text, without which the same would be almost unintelligible.

Certain summary explanations regarding some of the signs used in the text are given by the author in his "Prefatory Notice", which is annexed to "Part I".

Another peculiarity (nowhere, however, explained by the author) is the use of italics for the figures denoting pages in quotations, and of ordinary type figures to denote lines, the two being divided by a full stop, without any further sign to indicate that the one is the *page* and the other the *line* quoted.

This involves complication since the same method (i.e., figure in italics—full stop—figure in ordinary type) is used by the author to indicate "*volume and page*" as well, when italic (instead of the usual Roman figure) stands for *volume* and ordinary type for *page*.

In order to avoid a great deal of unnecessary trouble for the compositors and printers, we have discarded in our translation the numeration of lines, the indentations and other similar typographical mannerisms of the German original, but have preserved intact the above-discussed abbreviations, as devised by the author.

In a footnote accompanying his above-mentioned "Prefatory Notice" Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ reverts to the old question as to whether Pahlavi is to be considered a "mixed language" or not. We do not deem it necessary to re-start that question here and refer our readers to our Preface to SALEMANN'S Middle-Persian Grammar (published by the Hon'ble Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay), where that question has been fully dealt with by us. A passage in the late E. G. BROWNE'S Literary History of Persia (vol. I, pp. 76-77), which sheds an absolutely clear light on that much discussed question, had, however, escaped our attention at the moment of the compilation of the said Preface. As it only confirms and fully justifies our views expressed in the same, we think it will suffice to mention here that BROWNE'S authority is a passage in the FHRIST, which shows quite clearly that the Pahlavi ideograms were never pronounced as they are spelt.

As regards Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S transcription of Pahlavi words, it may be safely considered as the simplest of all the systems used in that connection, and it has, of course, been preserved intact throughout in our translation of the present series. What we mean here by simplicity refers, however, only to its outward appearance, by which we mean the absence of any unusual or too complicated signs below or above the Latin characters used in the transcription and the absence of any additional letters (barring the Greek "gamma" to denote the guttural *g*-sound and the Greek "theta" to represent the voiceless dental spirant). The placing of the (metric) mutter-vowel (*e* or *o*) *under* the line instead of placing it *above* the line, as is the general custom, is one of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S many typographical peculiarities, which does not really matter at all.

A far more important feature of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S transcription is his peculiarly own and unusual spelling of certain

well-known (or otherwise) Pahlavi words. As has been pointed out by us in our above-mentioned Preface to SALEMANN'S Middle-Persian Grammar, the limitations of the Pahlavi alphabet are such as to open a vast field, to anybody who should be so inclined, for playing ducks and drakes with its transcription and spelling in Latin characters. It is that peculiarity of the Pahlavi alphabet which enabled Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ to introduce into his transcriptions most unusual spellings of certain words only partly justified by the deficiencies of that alphabet. Being a PRIMA FACIE Awestan and Ancient-Iranian scholar (his doctor-dissertation, which appeared in Munich in 1878, was an essay entitled "Das Verbum im Awesta," later incorporated in the same year in his monograph "Das altiranische Verbum in Formenlehre und Syntax dargestellt") and all his innumerable articles and a few large books, which appeared during the first twenty-eight years of his research activities, are exclusively concerned with subjects Awestan, Ancient-Iranian, Indian, Indo-Germanic, etc., and his first paper dealing with a purely Pahlavi subject ("Zur Rechtschreibung des Buchpahlavi: *pāhrēxtan* oder *pahrēxtan*?" WZKM., XXI, 1-10) appeared only as late as 1907, and the first (Introductory) Part of the present series only in 1910, his "Mitteliranische Studien" (*ibid.*) between 1911 and 1917, and his series entitled "Zur Kenntniss der mitteliranischen Mundarten" was started as late as 1916, and the last (VI) issue of the same was published only after the death of the great savant in 1925.

It is only natural in the circumstances that, having devoted two thirds of his lifetime to research in the domain of the two older Iranian languages, Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ should have remained to the end under the spell of Awestan and Ancient-Persian morphology, even when dealing with subjects purely Middle-Persian, and should have been always inclined, whenever an opportunity was offered by the deficiencies of the Pahlavi alphabet, to prefer in transcribing Pahlavi words spellings based on forms Awestan and Ancient-Persian, as against the usually accepted spellings, derived either from the Parsi traditional or from the living Persian forms, to which Pahlavi stands in a far closer connection than to the two dead Iranian languages. His footnote on p. 5 of the present book shows clearly his attitude in the matter.

However it be, we have most scrupulously preserved the author's transcription throughout the whole of the series. Nor did we in any way change the plan and the arrangement of the Indices of the German original.

L. BOGDANOV.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AGr. : Armenische Grammatik (Hübschmann).

AI. : Ancient Indian.

AirWb. : Altiranisches Wörterbuch (BTHL.)

Aog. : Aogemadæcha (ed. GEIGER).

AVN. : The Book of Arda Virāf.

Aw. : Avestan.

Bd. : Bundahišn (ed. WESTERGAARD, JUSTI. The references are to pages and lines).

BGB. : Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (the German Civil Code).

Bthl. : BARTHOLOMÆ.

BullAcPét. : Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg.

DM. : Dēnkart ed. MADAN (the references are to pages and lines).

DKS. : Dēnkart ed. SANJANA (the references are to pages and lines).

DWb. : Deutsches Wörterbuch.

Einl. : Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen (SPIEGEL).

FrP. : Frahang-i Pahlavik ed. JUNKER (the references are to chapters and lines).

GAw. : Avestan of the Gathas.

GIrPh. : Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.

GrBd. : Great Bundahišn ed. ANKLESARIA (the references are to pages and lines).

Grdr. : Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (BRUGMANN).

GrSogd. : Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne (GAUTHIOT).

IF. : Indogermanische Forschungen (ed. BRUGMANN and STREITBERG).

KN. : Kārnamak-i Artaxšēr-i Pāvakān.

M. : Handschriftentexte aus Turfan (F. W. K. MÜLLER),
and Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnen-
buch (I D E M).

Man Stud. : Manichäische Studien (SALEMANN).

MK. : Codex MK. of DASTUR JAMASP-ASANA.

MéAs. : Mélanges Asiatiques.

MhD. : Mādīgān-i-Hazār Dādīstān ed. MODI (the references
are to pages and lines).

MhDA. : The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian times
ed. E. T. D. ANKLESARIA.

MIRANM. : Zur Kenntniss der mittelpersischen Mundarten
(BTHL.) SHAW.

MPB. Middle-Persian of the books.

MPT. : Pahlavi texts of Turfan.

MS. : Middle-Soghdian (where no additional definition is
given—" Middle-Soghdian Buddhist Texts ").

MX. : Minōk-i Khrad, editions : ANDREAS, SANJANA, WEST
(the references are to §§ and lines).

NpEt. : Neupersische Etymologie (HORN).

PahlT. : Pahlavi Texts (JAMASP ASANA).

PersStud. : Persische Studien (HÜBSCHMANN).

PF. : Pahlavi-Awesta Frahang (ed. REICHELT, WZKM.,
14. 182 ff.).

PN. : Pahlavi Nirangistān.

PN (Tahm.) : Pahlavi Nirangistān (the T. D. ANKLESARIA Codex).

Pü. : Pahlavi translations (of Avestan texts).

PV. : Pahlavi Vidēvdād (Vendidad).

PVr. : Pahlavi Visperad.

PW. : ROTH and BÖHTLINGK's Dictionary.

PY. : Pahlavi Yasn.

PYt. : Pahlavi Yašt.

SBayrAW. : Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SBE. : Sacred Books of the East.

SHAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Skr. : Sanskrit.

Sp. : SPIEGEL's ed. of the Visperad.

SRb. Über ein Sasanidisches Rechtsbuch (BTHL.), SHAW.

SW. Sanskrit Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK).

SWAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SyrRechtsb. : Syrisches Rechtsbuch (SACHAU).

ŠnŠ. : Šāyast-nē-Šāyast.

Šv. : Škand-gumānik Vižār.

WZKM. : Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZendHss. : Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecæ Regiæ Monacensis, v. I, pars VII (BTHL.)

NOTES ON SASANIAN LAW

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMÆ (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV

PART I.

The present essay gives further data on **Sasanian law**. I request the reader to take into consideration my former attempts in that domain, especially the papers: *Ueber ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch* (SRb.), SHdbAW. 1910; *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des sasanidischen Rechts*, WZKM. 27 (1913)., 347 ff., and *Der Verbalkontrakt im sasanidischen Recht*, MiranM. 2.3 ff. in the SHdbAW. 1917.

If I am permitted to hope and to promise already to publish further contributions relative to the subject, I must—in reply to repeated summons addressed to me—again (as already MiranM. 2. 10 No. 2) emphasize that, owing to the mutilated condition of the only Ms. which we possess¹ of the Sasanian law-book, *Mātikān i hazār dāt, stān* (MhD.),² I consider it impossible to give a full translation which would more or less answer the established scientific demands. What is told us in MhDA., Introd. 15 f., about entrusting with and overtaking of a “translation of the MhD.” can in no way make me alter my opinion. The Parsi scholars are very much inclined to over-value the goodness of the Pahlavi texts and to undervalue the difficulty of their translation.

¹ Examples of its deplorable defectiveness are to be found everywhere below. See also p. 21, l. 12 ff.

² “The book of the thousand (legal) decisions”, see page 3.

I. MhD. 6. 13-14.

[with supplementary notes on the concept *pašt* "stipulatio"].

۱ mart ō 1 xāstak āk,nēn 2 mart ka
 1 mart ō 1 xāstak āk,nēn 2 mart ka
 ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴
 dārām 14 drust ku kunēnd pašt u frōšēnd
 ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴
 kē har hač dārisnāh drust ku guft vahrām
 ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴ ۱۴
 pāloxšāy⁵ xāst kāmēt

When two men¹
 in common sell an
 object to one man¹
 and conclude [with
 him] the stipula-
 tion: We shall 14
 guard it² "—: Vah-
 rā...³ has said: He⁴
 is entitled to claim
 the object from
 anyone from whom
 he wishes⁵.

For the contents of this legal decision ("dātestān", s. SRb.3), the wording of which is proved to be thoroughly correct, see § 688 of the BGB.: "Deposit" and especially § 421: "If

¹ see below 1. p. 4. ² until taken off.

³ The lawyer most often quoted in MhD.

⁴ The buyer and depositor.

⁵ I spell *pāt,xšāy*, with an *o*, i.e. a dull mutter-vowel, because of the frequent spelling 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, where the vowel is expressed by 𐭥 the sign for V, e.g. MhD. 2. 4, 3. 9, 6. 2, DkM. 706. 16, etc. After the falling out of the *x*, the sound received, because standing now before *š*, a clear tinge,; MPB. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pāt,xšāh* "ruler"—P. 𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pādišāh*.

It must be moreover pointed out, that the words meaning "authorized, entitled" and "ruler" are considered by me as originally equal and derived from ancient Iranian **xšāi**; in MsS. there is to be found the comparative degree PČYYSTR *pačāyistar* "tolerabilius" (i.e., *pačāi**, s. Bthl. WZKM. 29. 26), and in MPT. the word is also in its second meaning still with *āy*, proved with certainty: P'DX'S'Y *pāčaxšāy* p. 9 e. 16. Later on at the outlet it has been in the meaning of "ruler" assimilated with the congenial *šāh* derived from **xšāiaθ** (Ancient Persian *xšāyagšya*-). My former transcription of the word in the meaning "entitled" with *āh* is erroneous.

⁶ Of the two joint sellers.

several persons owe a payment . . . [as co-debtors], the creditor can claim the payment at his pleasure from any of the debtors;" s. also sub 4 and 5, p. 22 ff.

LINGUISTIC AND OBJECTIVE REMARKS.

1. "When two men . . . sell an object to one man": the translation sounds rather stiff; yet, if one wishes to render the original text literally and objectively to the point, that cannot be avoided. The word *mart* "man" denotes the legally capable natural person; now, hereat are required :1) being of age, and 2) of masculine sex; because women are considered by the Sasanian law, on principle, as legally non-capable; s. below pp. 29-30. The opposite of *mart* "man", as subject in judicial cases, is *x^oāstak* "thing" as object of the same.¹

2. *āk_onēn* "**una, conjunctim**": also *pa āk_onēn* (e.g., MhD.2.6)², or *pa e yāvar*, properly speaking, "in one pace" (e.g., MhDA. 30.10)³, show, that an action accomplished by several persons, especially a business mode of acting, must be considered as the activity of a company in the legal sense of the word. We find in MhD. instances with two and three partners. They are called *𐭠𐭣𐭥* *hambāy* (plur.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *hambāyān*)³ "socius" and they form a *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥* *hambāyih* "societas,"; s. p. 30 note 2.

My reading of the word *𐭠𐭣𐭥* *āk_onēn* rests on my proposal made in IF.12.95, note, which, yet, could not be sustained without a slight amendment at the beginning—"points certainly to *ā*!"—on account of the MPT.—forms of the word: 'GNYN and "GNYN, which were discovered in the meantime (s. Salemann, ManStud. 1.40 and BullAcPét. 1912.34 l. 23). I derive now the first half of the word from AI. *sākām* adv. "together, simultaneously", referring thereby for the formation of the initial syllable to my remarks on the initial *s*- before sonants in MiranM. 1.42; °𐭠𐭣 can be read *hak°* and *āk°*, but

¹ See also below p. 45, Note 1.

² See the "Index of passages."

³ For the origin of the word see Bthl. WZKM 29. 14.

never *hāk*.¹ The second part of the word might certainly have some connection with the Aī. *nayana*- n. "ductus, tractus"; *āk_onēn* would thus verbally mean "conjuncto tractu". Still neither the reading nor the origin of the word can be considered as certain.

3. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pašt* "(binding=) promise, agreement, treaty, espec. verbal contract, stipulation". The concluding-formula of a verbal contract. Cf. for it my *MiranM.* 2.3 ff., where a number of examples for the word *pašt* have been collected. The reason for the absence there of the above-quoted passage is that I had originally read the above combination 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

nipišt (=P. نوشت *nivišt* "piece of writing") instead of 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

u pašt,² supplementing a 𐭥 *u* "and" before the same.

I wanted accordingly to translate the passage: " to sell and to put it in writing: "We" That 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

nipišt occurs certainly often enough in the *MhD.*: yet it seems to me quite certain that, **in this instance**, on the contrary, a stipulation is meant; the text is perfectly in order; for the use of the preposition *apāk* and the verb *kartan* with *pašt* cf. *MiranM.* 2.5 f. and below for the *MhDa.* 1.16, 7.6, 40.16; s. *Indpass.*

¹ Except when the sonant of the initial syllable is *ā*, it cannot be established with certainty from the spelling of the word, whether the *h* before it has been preserved, or dropped off, or "prefixed", because the initial *t*, *š* and *hš* *hē*, *ū*, *ō* and *hū*, *hō*, in most cases also *i* and *hi*, *u* and *hu* are written alike, with the sign for *a*, *i* or *u* accompanying the same. I write in such instances, as a rule, according to the etymology of the word, without vouching for the correct structure of the word; thus, *hāō*, for *hō*, because of the

Avest. *hāōa*, in spite of *MPT.* and Pers. *az*, and *ōš* for *hō*, because of the Avest. *aošō*, in spite of the Pers. *hōš*, and so forth.

² Cf. West in *MhDa.* *Introd.* 21; "𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 seems often to stand for 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 the slender *i* being sometimes not seen when copying manuscripts". He does not state, to which passages the remark refers. *In any case the remark is correct with reference to *MhD.* 22.1, 22. 2. 23.4; in all the three passages it is to be read *āngōn nipišt*. Probably also for *MhD.* 42. 11.

In the meantime, I have encountered a number of further examples for *pašt*, which I add here. The passages are as follows: MhD. 17. 3 f., 21.2, 71.8 (where it is, however, written **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠** as in most manuscripts of Kn. 12; s. MiranM. 2, 12 f.), 71. 10, MhDA. 7.6, 10.15, 16, 17, 11.4, 5, 8, 18, 11, 40.16. Their value as proofs is, I confess, fairly unequal.

1. MhD. 71.8, where the manuscript presents **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠**, the word stands connected with 1 "and" before **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠** *patmān* "agreement" (s. MiranM. 2.5 note 2) in the heading of the 45th chapter, which is rendered as follows:

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠
𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠

The 3rd and 4th combinations therein are divided incorrectly:

it is to be read **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠**. For the reading and meaning of the last word (*tāvān*) s. WZKM. 27.357 and the Pers. 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠. The first word, mostly written **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠**: MhD., 71, 13, 14, 17,

as well as—along with **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭠** *varš* "rent"—30, 8 (=A.12.17), 31.1, I am unable to read. It belongs, in any case, according to its meaning, to the same province as *tāvān* and *varš*, and means, therefore, "indemnity". The heading—*dar i × × × u tāvān dahišnīh u ahravdāt u atuvānīkīh, č i andar pašt u patmān*—means thus: "Chapter on indemnity and mulct and almsgiving and also insolvency in case of promise and agreement".¹ The inclusion of almsgiving into that association of concepts might be due to the fact that, in cases of non-fulfilment of an agreement, a certain sum was fixed to be spent in charity in atonement, sometimes directly at the conclusion of the agreement, in other instances at the subsequent elucidation of the same. For *atuvānīkīh*, i.e. "incapacity" of fulfilling the action agreed upon, through no fault of his own (*pa avināsih* "through guiltlessness"), that is to say, through an act of Providence, compare my MiranM. 2.21 note 2, where the last part of the above chapter, relative to a case of such "incapacity", has been translated and discussed; cf. also below p. 12 f.

¹ Mo di gives in the Introduction to MhD. XIV for the long heading the short translation: "Gifts to the pious (*Ahloban dād*)".

I. MhD. 58. 4—7.

āturfarnbay apāk farrox^v ka
 mihryōn tō ka hakar ku kunēt patmān
 ap_espārom tō ō 5 mihryōn x^vāhēh
 āturfarnbay pas u dahom bē 200 ēnīh
 farrox^v u x^vāhēt farrox^v hač mihryōn
 farrox^v hakar ap_espārēt nē mihryōn
 u atuvānik mihryōn i ap_espārtan pa
 pas ka-č avinās 7 atuvānikih ān pa
 ap_espārišn nē tan 8 rasēt tuvānikih ō
 nē 200-č u

II. MhD. 72. 10—12.

rōč hakar ku gōwēt ka
 ap_e- 11 tō ō farrox^v vahmān
 dahom bē 200 ēnīh spārom
 i ap_espārtan pa vahmān rōč
 avinās 12 atuvānikih farrox^v
 rasēt tuvānikih pas ka-č
 u ap_espārišn nē tan adak-č
 dahišn nē 200-č

Neither the one, nor the other of the two versions has been transmitted quite correctly, I do not besides, pay any heed to minor mistakes.

The subject is introduced in two different ways: in I with *ka farrox^v apāk āturfarnbay patmān kunēt* "when F. makes an agreement with A", in II merely with *ka gōwēt* "when he says (declares)". The agreement concerns the "*ap_espārišn*", "the handing over" of a slave (who is called in I *Mihryōn*, in II *Farrox_v*). Thereby is not

1 Cf. Bthl. SRb. 15 and also at present West in MhDa (1912) Introd. 20 f, see furthermore p. 15 note 1.—𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥 is read by West *mitrō-gōv* (i.e. *mihryōw*), but that would be certainly expected to be spelt 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥.

meant the sale of him, but a temporal transfer of possession, a cession on hire of him, the putting at disposal of his labour. In the same way also, according to MhD. 72.3 ff., the working power of a horse (see below), nay, even, according to MhD. 101. 4 ff (see below p. 33 ff.) that of one's own wife is ceded in usufruct.

In variant I the lease is connected with the condition of claiming: *hakar ka¹ tō mihryōn xāhēh* "when thou claimest M.". In II the protasis is omitted with the exception of the introductory conjunction of the same. The copyist had probably jumped over from the name of the slave *farroz*² after the words *rōč vahmān* to the same name in the apodosi. Thus, the seemingly irrelevant *hakar* "when" at the beginning of II,—which I formerly wanted to remove, MiranM. 2. 21 note 2, having at that time not consulted I,—finds an explanation.

[In the passage in MhD. 72. 3-5, which is compared with the above discussed 72. 10 ff., being, as it were, essentially in close connection with the same, the protasis is also defective yet, in that instance, the deficiency is due to the manuscript being partly destroyed. It bears:

4 gap 5 gap
 The two gaps—of 23 and 13 mm—occur on the left side at the end of the line. *hakar* has surely to be restored into *ōhrmazd*, and *ka* into *ka*. Further there might have followed in one instance the verb *xāhēh*, in the other the encl. pron. *-š*. I read accordingly: *ka gowēt ku hakar*

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¹ The *ka* after *hakar* seems to be superfluous. Yet note Pers. *چونکه* *čūnki* along with the simple *چون* *čūn*, and *تاکه* *tāki* along with the simple *تا* *tā*. Also MhDA. 11. 4f. bears in the same protasis *hakar* . . . *ka-č*, see Ind. Pass.

rōč [i] *ōhrmazd x^vāhēh 4 asp ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh tāvān dahom būt kē āngōn guft ku ka-š 5 pēš (i) hač ōhrmazd rōč asp bē mīrēt adak-č tāvān ō tōzišn ō rasēt*, i.e. "When he says: 'When thou claimest him on the day of *Ōhrmazd*, I shall give the horse up, to thee or else pay an indemnity'—there have been [lawyers] who said thus: 'If the horse dieth before the day of *Ōhrmazd*, then also cometh the indemnity to be paid.'"

For the contents of the stipulation, giving a horse on lease as working power, see above. The horse must if my restoration of the gap be correct, be claimed (v. *ibid.*), and that on the day fixed for it (see below).

It is extraordinary, that in that particular instance—with the horse—the guiltless incapacity to fulfil the agreement is not considered as excluding the question of indemnity. Otherwise, as it seems, the cases of such incapacity—to fulfil an agreement with a fixed term for execution, s. BGB. §361,—were treated most leniently, as is shown by the case translated on p. 11 f. with reference to the slave. [A further instance of *atuvānikīh* is discussed in WZKM. 27. 361 ff.] From the manner, in which the legal standpoint expounded in the instance with the horse is introduced—with the words *būt kē āngōn guft* "fuit qui ita dixit"—one may, I presume, draw the conclusion that that standpoint was not shared by the author of the MhD., or, at least, that not all the Sasanian lawyers considered it under the same light].

On the other hand, text II, as MhD. 72. 3 ff. s. p. 8, contains the necessary fixed term of delivery—*rōč* [i] *vahmān* "on such and such day",—which is wanting in I.

A difference of exposition might be probably seen in what follows in I the words *ēnīh 200 bē dahom u* "otherwise I shall pay 200 [dirham] and" and what is wanting in II: the words *u pas* up to the sentence containing the term of execution.

Farther below the scribe of II is guilty of a further essential omission when he deviated from *atuvānik* to *atuvānikīh*; his original bore *pa ap_espārian i farrox^v atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikīh avinās*, wholly corresponding with what stands in I. Whereas towards the end text II becomes again more complete, inasmuch as it contains the hardly dispensable *adak-č* after *rasēt* and at the end the quite indispensable *dahišn* after *nē*, which are both wanting in I. After *dahišn* (and before the sign

dividing the sentences '.) there stands in II besides **اودلس** *nikīritan* which otherwise means in legal terminology "to investigate, to collect evidence for—" ; thus, for instance, MhD. 7.2, 20.1,4, 35.9, 104.8, MhDA. 2.5, 7.11, and so on. (See also **اودلس** *nikīrāy* MhD. 6.4, 8.2, 13.14, 107. 4, 7, etc.) I do not see what its purport here might be.

The original text of the two versions might have been as follows :¹

- (I) *ka farrox^v apāk āturfarnbay patmān kṃnēt ku hakar ka*
(II) *ka gōwēt ku hakar*
- (I) *rōč i vahmān tō mihryōn x^vāhēh mihryōn ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh*
(II) *rōč i vahmān farrox^v x^vāhēh farrox^v ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh*
- (I) *200 bē dahom u pas āturfarnbay mihryōn hač farrox^v x^vāhēt*
(II) *200 bē dahom u*
- (I) *u farrox^v mihryōn nē ap_espārēt hakar farrox^v rōč i vahmān pa*
(II) *rōč i vahmān pa*
- (I) *ap_espārtan i mihryōn atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikih avinās ka-č*
(II) *ap_espārtan i farrox^v atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikih avinās ka-č*
- (I) *pas ō tuvānikih rasēt adak_e-č tan nē ap_espārišn u 200-_eč nē*
(II) *pas ō tuvānikih rasēt adak_e-č tan nē ap_espārišn u 200-_eč nē*
- (I) *dahišn ; i. e.*
(II) *dahišn ; i.e.*
- (I) When *Farrox^v* with *Āturfarnbay* make the agreement :
“when thou
(II) When he says : “when [thou]
(I) [on such and such day]² demandest *Mihryōn*, I shall
(II) on such and such day [demandest *Farrox^v*] I shall
(I) deliver to thee *Mihryōn* or else pay 200 ³ and
(II) deliver to thee *Farrox^v* or else pay 200³ and
(I) then *Āturfarnbay* demands *Mihryōn* from *Farrox^v* and
(II)

1 Restored words are given in vertical type.

² Restored parts are put in []. ³ i.e. dirhams.

- (I) *Farrox*^v does not deliver *Mihryōn*, as long as *Farrox*^v [on such
 (II) on such
 (I) and such day] [is] for the delivery of *Mihryōn* incapable and
 (II) and such day [is] for the delivery of *Farrox*^v [incapable and
 (I) of that incapability guiltless, [then] even if he
 (II) of that] incapability guiltless, [then] even if he
 (I) later attains capability, also then the man [is] not to be
 (II) later attains capability, also then the man [is] not to be
 (I) delivered and also the 200 not [to be paid].
 (II) delivered and also the 200 not to be paid.

2 One cannot fail to recognize the close conceptional connection (also for the passage MhDA. 10.16) between the words *patmān* and *pašt*: the *patmān*—*ka mihryōn patmān kunēt* in the first case is again taken up below with *pašt*—*čē-š pašt ān žamān kart*; the extraordinarily voluminous *dāt_estān* MhDA. 10.13 foll. contains the identical 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *pašt* besides that five times more and everywhere, indeed, combined with the words 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *dāt* and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 × ? × whereat 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 occupies three times the first place and twice the second, whilst 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 stands always at the end. With reference to what ought to be substituted for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 which I consider to be a contamination, what the whole sentence has to mean, and about its application, see p. 16 foll.—The text of MhDA. 10.13—11.8 reads:

¹ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 10.14 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

ku-m kunēt 10.14 patmān mihryōn ka ku guft vahram

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

duxt āturfarnbar i žanbūt ō sāl 10 hač pas x^vastak ēn

¹ The edition 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 cf. below MhD. 17, 3 foll.

15 [א] חָ וְ סָסָ כְּרָסָ [ד] רַבְּ מִרְעָסָ וְסָ¹
hand mirēt bē žanbūt sāl 10 andar [u] 15 dāt.
 כָּסָ מִרְעָסָ סָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ וְסָסָ¹⁶ ×
bavēt guft 16 × ? × pašt dāt ku guft ē kē
 סָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ וְסָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ
ān pašt čē-š rasēt pit ō bē x^vāstak ku
 מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ 17 מִרְעָסָ כְּרָסָ [ד] וְסָסָ וְסָסָ
ēstāt pit pa vindišn žanbūt ka 17 kart žamān
 1 וְסָ² כָּסָ מִרְעָסָ סָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ^{11.1} ×
11.1 × ? × dāt pašt ku guft ē kē hand u
 מִרְעָסָ מִרְעָסָ סָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ וְסָסָ
mirēt bē sāl 10 andar žanbūt hakar ku bavēt guft
 מִרְעָסָ מִרְעָסָ וְסָסָ וְסָסָ וְסָסָ³ וְסָסָ
šut šāyest andar 2 žan pa x^vāstak ka rāδ ē

¹ 𐭠𐭣 is the ideogram for 𐭠𐭣 (𐭠𐭣) *ōē* "that one" which had been put here (and in line 17) by the scribe in place of the original 𐭠𐭣 (𐭠𐭣), i.e. *hand* "they are".*) More commonly in such or similar cases the singular 𐭠𐭣 *ast*, is used and, indeed, with a following 𐭠𐭣 *kē*, 𐭠𐭣 *i* or 𐭠𐭣 *ōē*; s. Bthl. WZKM. 27. 359 note 4, IF. 38, 77 note 2. below p. 25, note 2 [Again about another phonetic and lexical value of 𐭠𐭣 see p. 34 and WZKM 30, 27].

* 𐭠𐭣 *hand* is for instance found P.Vr. 9, 3 (SP. 10, 13); see, besides, also GIrPh. Ia. 313 note 4. cf. also MiranM. 2.39 note 3.

² see note 1.

³ The edition 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣: a hook had been forgotten as it often happens when several of them are following one another.

∴ $\text{āyēt} \quad \text{nē} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{rix̌t} \quad \text{hač} \quad \text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{āstak} \quad \text{murt} \quad \text{žan} \quad \text{u}$

10 $\text{ham} \quad \text{andar} \quad [\text{u}] \quad \text{kunēt} \quad \text{šōḡ} \quad \text{sāl} \quad 10 \quad \text{andar} \quad 3 \quad \text{žanbūt} \quad \text{ka}$

$\text{pašt} \quad 4 \quad \text{hakar} \quad \text{čē} \quad \text{bavēt} \quad \text{gōnak} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{ada} \text{ḡ} \text{č} \quad \text{mīrēt} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{sāl}$

$\text{matan} \quad \text{kas} \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{āstak} \quad \text{mīrēt} \quad \text{žanbūt} \quad \times \quad ? \quad \times \quad \text{dāt}$

$\text{pit} \quad \text{ka-č} \quad \times \quad ? \quad \times \quad \text{pašt} \quad \text{dāt} \quad 5 \quad \text{hakar} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{šāyēt} \quad \text{nē}$

6 $\text{pit} \quad [\text{u}] \quad \text{i} \quad \text{dūtak} \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{āstak} \quad \text{ada} \text{ḡ} \text{č} \quad \text{mīrēt}$

$\text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{āstak} \quad \text{ēn} \quad \text{ku-m} \quad \text{gōwēt} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{nēst} \quad \text{yuttar} \quad \text{rasēt}$

$\text{andar} \quad \text{pit} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{dāt} \quad \text{pit} \quad 7 \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{sāl} \quad 10 \quad \text{hač} \quad \text{pas}$

$\text{i} \quad \text{dūtak} \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{x}^{\text{v}}\text{āstak} \quad \text{ada} \text{ḡ} \text{č} \quad \text{mīrēt} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{sāl} \quad 10$

..... $\text{rasēt} \quad 8 \quad \text{pit}$

i.e., "Vahrām³ has said: If Mihryōn⁴ makes the agreement: 'This object is given by me after 10 years as a present to

1 The edition rasēt ; the confusion of r and p at the end of verbal forms is a very common mistake.

2 I spell thus the manuscript rasēt and I refer for the etymology and the meaning to the AI. *rikthā-n.*; in what way West had come to his *rakhto* apparel, furniture, MhDA. Introd. 22, I am unable to understand. The same word in a nearly similar construction is to be found in MhDA. 25. 7: $\text{hač} \quad \text{rix̌t} \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{nē} \quad \text{rasēt}$; see further p. 27 for MhDA. 32. 3.



3 See above p. 3 note 3.

4 Most probably the words "with *Āturfarnbay*" (*apāk ā°*) have been omitted in this instance.

*Žanbūt*¹ the daughter of *Āturfarnbay*²; +10.15 and *Žanbut* dies within the 10 years—: some have said: *pašt dāt x?x³* holds good: it is said that [then] the object goes to [her] father; because the stipulation was made by him at a time 17 when the income³ of *Žanbut* belonged to her father⁴; and some have said: *pašt dāt x?x⁵* holds good: it is said that the object, as far as *Žanbūt* dies within the ten years, for the reason that the object was to fall to the woman 11.2 and the woman died, from the estate⁶ is [never] segregated⁷. If *Žanbūt* marries within the 10 years and dies within the same 10 years, even then it does hold good; for 4 when *pašt dāt x?x⁵* *Žanbūt* dies, the object must not fall to whomsoever it be. And, when *dāt pašt x?x⁵* the father⁸ also dies, even then the object falls to the family of the father; 6. it is not otherwise, as if he had said: , This object is given by me after 10 years as present to the father, ' and, if the father dies within the 10 years, then the object falls to the family of the father

The final passage of the *dāt, stān* (11.8 foll.) with the fifth example for the construction “*pašt dāt* × ? × ” has certainly not been transmitted quite correctly and its meaning can therefore not be established with full certainty. It runs:

၁။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၂။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၃။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၄။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၅။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၆။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၇။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၈။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၉။ နေရာချထားမှု
 ၁၀။ နေရာချထားမှု

¹ The name serves to denote female persons, playing a rôle in the quoted legal cases; see p. 8, note 1; similarly MhDA. 23.15; 24. 14, etc. MhDA. 14. 12 the name is written ideographically  .

What it means, I do not know; I do not believe the explanation by West MhDA. Introd. 21 "there was a woman, a certain woman" to be correct. *būt* certainly corresponds to the Greek *φύσις*. Another name used to designate women in the Sasanian juridical language has reached us in MhDA. 21. 9: *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥* *bēhestān*; see for the same **Unvala König Husrav**" (Heidelberger Diss. 1917), 36 note a.

² For the meaning and the use of the words see p. 18 line 4 foll.

³ For *vindiñn* see p. 53 foll.

⁴ As far as she—single at that time—was still *filia familias*.

5 Cf. above, note 2.

⁶ Of the donor ; see above.

7 The donative connection expires with the death of the woman who was to profit by the donation, and is not extended on her heirs.

8 Of Žanbūt.

والت ١١٩٩ د سر 10 ١١٩٩٩٩ ١١٩٩ د د ١١٩٩

١١٩٩ د د ١١٩٩٩٩ ١١٩٩٩٩ ١١٩٩٩٩ : —

u-š ēn-č guft ku ēn dāt, stān kartak āngōn apāk ku pašt dāt 9 × ? ×
 ēn ku ka pit andar 10 sāl bē mirēt adak-č x'āstak bē dūtak i pit
 10 rasēt apāk ān i hačapar pa guft i syāvaš nipišt awikānik.
 The purport of the sentence is no doubt to point out that the
 lawyers do not agree (*hamdāt, stān*) in that particular instance
 and that different decisions are given for the case which are
 contradictory to each other (*awikānik*, s. WZKM. 30.32 foll.).

Before ١١٩٩ *dūtak* in line 9 the preposition ١١ ṓ has no doubt
 to be added as in line 5; the sentences *ka pit* up to *rasēt*
 in that case and *ka-č pit* up to *rasēt* in this case are indeed
 similar, except the č after *ka*. Possibly we have to read¹ :
 . . . dāt, stān i kartak āngōn apāk ēn ku pašt dāt × ? × u ēn ku
 ka pit rasēt u apāk ān i . . . awikānik, i.e. "And
 that is also said by him (*Vahrām*) : The decision reached at
 is contradictory to : "*pašt dāt*, etc." and to : "If the father
 within, etc." and to what has been designated above as a
 statement by *Syāvaš*². The matter remains dark.

That *pašt* in connection with *dāt* and with × ? × does not
 mean anything else than usually, seems to be quite
 certain. Yet, what is the purport of the connection ? How
 is the same to be analyzed grammatically ?

Had we only *dāt pašt*, with *dāt* placed before, the combination
 could have been considered as an absolute participle-construction
 "dato promisso", similar to the instances of that construction
 discussed by me in SRb. 10 foll., WZKM. 27. 370, note 2;
 ZendHss. 125, note 9; 129, note 4, 5; MiranM. 1.12, 35.³ But in
 all the instances encountered up to the present the participle
 stands always before the noun constructed with it. Here,
 however, we find the two words in the reverted order as
 well, *pašt* standing in the first place. Still, were even that
 order possible,—what is to be done with ١١٩٩ ?

¹ Words in vertical type are intercalated by me.

² A lawyer.

³ Nöldeke, Pers. Stud. 2. 19, quotes two similar Modern-Persian
 instances of "a hard participle construction" from *Daqīqī* (which, un-
 fortunately, I notice only just now) : نَادِيْدَة اَوْ رَا پِدَر *nāḍīda ōrā*
pidar "non conspicato eum patre", and نَادَاْدَة چِيْز *nādāda čīz*
 "non donata aliqua re", both, indeed, with a negation similar to the
 last of my examples in WZKM. 27. 370, note 2.

I think, that a concluding formula, as prescribed or used for the conclusion of verbal agreements in Sasanian times, has been preserved in the combination of those three words, a formula, the use of which was to give legal strength to the agreements made verbally, a formula, which thus corresponds in its meaning and effect to the Latin "spondes ne? spondeo" in the case of the Roman "*stipulatio*"; see MiranM. 2. 14. In the *pašt dāt* or *dāt pašt*, i.e. "promissum (est) datum" I recognize a formula to be uttered by the promiser. I do not know, how to connect with it the third word **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**. I attribute it to the stipulator, but I consider it to be a corruption.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 is the ideogram for **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** *x^aš* "one's own". I think that the original copy bore **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** for which one of the copyists had put **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** "one's own", which is indeed very much similar in writing to the above **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** and which is easily suggested by the contents of the text. That mistake occurs even without such a reason, see PahlT. ۳۲, § ۶۲ note 33, where in MK. there stands **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** ۱ **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** $\times \times \times$ *u nēwak*, whereas the same Ms. gives the correct reading in § ۳۸—**𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** ۱ **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**, in §§ ۲۹, ۴۴, ۴۹, ۶۱—using the ideogram for **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** *x^aš* *u nēwak*; one sees therefrom how easily it might have happened that the pen of the copyist should trace **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** instead of **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**. A later scribe had further put instead of **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** its ideogram namely the **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥** under discussion. After the mistake had been once committed in one of the succeeding copies, it was—anything else could be hardly expected—repeated as many times as the same sentence occurred in the text.¹

The original **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥**, however, is *x^aš*, i.e. "Well!" a word perfectly appropriate to express assent to a proposal and to

¹ Cf. also p. 19, note 3; p. 52, note 3.

denote the conclusion of an agreement based on the same. Thus it proves to be a counterpart of the Roman formula (the stipulator :) "sponde sne?" (the promissor :) "spondeo"—in the reversed order of the speakers—the Sasanian : "dāt pašt" (or pašt dāt) "xʷaš", i.e. (the prom.) "The promise is given", (the stipul. :) "Well!".

The quoting of formulas ("certa verba"),¹ the use and meaning of which must have been familiar to every business-man and the more so to every lawyer, has the purport of establishing for the reader's benefit that in the consecutive decision of the case it is surmised that the said formula has been used at the conclusion of the stipulation, and that the agreement has been thus legally entered upon. We have to think in the above text the words as standing between dashes and in quotation-marks; an Indian, would have used at the end of a sentence expressed in direct speech the final *iti*. Hence, 11, 3 foll.: *hakar*—'pašt dāt. xʷaš'—*žanbūt mīrēt* "when —'The promise is given. Well!'—*žanbūt dies*"; and 10. 15 foll.: 'dāt pašt. xʷaš!'—*guft bavēt* "The promise is given. Well!'—it holds, as it had been said". Freely, but strictly to the point, it may be translated: "At the lawful conclusion of the stipulation"; and this translation is to be added above on p. 15 for dāt pašt × ? ×.

MPB. 𐭥𐭥𐭥 "well!".²

The question remains whether the MPB. 𐭥𐭥𐭥 xʷaš can be proved to have anywhere else as well the meaning of the German "gut!" or the English "well!" admitted by me for the above passages. Taking into consideration the general trend of the MPB. literature, we can hardly expect to find any great number of such examples. Still I am in a position to quote two such instances, of which one certainly appears in a rather peculiar garb (see below under b).

¹ Cf. p. 52, note 3.

² For the etymology of the word see Gauthiot, Gr. Sogd. 150*, where a MS. "xʷašānt" "quia bon oeil, bien content" is quoted.

* The book by R. Gauthiot "Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne" (Première partie);—XVIII and p. 183, is, as I hear, little known and then only in a few abstracts. It is marked "Communication privée". I do not consider myself committing any indiscretion by quoting the same, nay, I think it my duty of honour with regard to the author from whose hand the pen has been snatched away by a premature death.

(a) When Artāk Virāz returns from his journey to heaven and hell and replies to the *dastūrs* who assail him with questions that he must first strengthen himself with some food and drink before he is able to begin his narrative, the *dastūrs* approve.

of his speech by exclaiming : (AVn. 3, 18) : (1) מן
i.e. *xʷaš xʷaš*² "well, well!"









(b) PahlI. 117. 11.—In the text “The explanation of the game of chess etc.” which has been translated with annotations by Salemann in the *MélAs.* 9. 222 foll. (from PSanjana’s edition in the *Ganjeshâyagân* etc., Bombay, 1885) the text, after an address by *Vazurkmihr*, in which the latter assures with solicitude the King of Kings, who is worried by the arrogant speeches of the Indian embassy, that he V., the wisest of the Iranians, will undertake to bring the matter to a most brilliant ending,—runs as follows :

[illegible]

i.e. *šāhān sāk 3 bār guft ku × ? × vazurkmīhr taxt × ? ×³ i amāk u-š 12000 dram ō vazurkmīhr framūt dātan*, i.e. The King of Kings said thrice: “*× ? × o Vazurkmīhr*, our chessboard-master”,⁴ and ordered 12000 *dirham* to be given to *Vazurkmīhr*.

The word **دوس** left by me without translation is read by Sanjana **دوس**. *zyā* and translated by him "may you continue to live". I admit that such a translation is more

¹ Most probably superfluous. In any case it might express the mut-
ter-vowel pronounced between the two words.


² Once written phonetically and once expressed by an Ideogram; similarly also Mx. 7, 15:     *hač har xvaših xvaštar*; follows:     *hač har hubōdih hubōditar*.

³ The spelling and the meaning of the word is—at least in its second part—quite uncertain. It is possibly a corruption, although it occurs in the same text five times written in the same way see, however, p. 17, note.




⁴ See the preceding note.


or less in tune with the context. Yet I am unable to squeeze out the form of the verb "to live" necessary for its correctness without altering the word itself. The finite present-





forms of the verb—Inf.  *živēstan*—are always spelt

in MPB. with  *živ* (*živ°*), corresponding, indeed, to the MPT

ZYV°. A **ziyā* in the sense of "vivas" could certainly occur in Mod. Pers. grown up from *zī* (زی), 2nd Sing. Imp. with *ā*, i.e. with the "affix—*ā*" discussed in the GlrPh. 7b. 152; but, not in MPB. Besides, supposing the possibility of its occurring in MPB., it would have been, to all certainty, spelt

 and not ; cf.  (= Mod. Pers. زیان) *ziyān* "damage".

It might have been the same considerations that have induced Salemann (o.c. 244) to read  rather *zih*, corresponding to the Mod. Pers. interjection *زی* *zih* (GlrPh. 1 b 167) and to render it by "Heil". Yet even that reading, as indeed Salemann himself admits, is incompatible with the traditional spelling. And it seems that he himself, most probably for that same reason, has since abandoned his notion with regard to that word; for in GlrPh. 1a. 323 § 128 where evidenced interjections of MPB. are quoted by Salemann, the above MPB. word is not mentioned, although the meaning of the Mod. Pers. *zih*—"excellent! bravo!"—is quite an appropriate one.

The correct reading and meaning of that  is found, if we decompose the order of signs by the middle, taking as elsewhere the first part of it to be , the ideogram for *ān* "that" substituting for the same the phonetic writing of the word , instead of the ideogram, and further reading the whole accordingly : *x°āš*. The copyist was unacquainted with the seldom occurring MPB. word; see p. 17.

The above is therefore to be translated accordingly: The King. . . . said thrice: "Well! O V. . . .". The "thrice" certainly concerns only the first word of the sentence *x°āš*; here it is repeated twice, in AVN. 3. 18 once only.

The same word with the same meaning is used in Mod. Pers. as well. In most cases it is then increased by an *-ā*: خوشا *xuṣṣā*, rendered by Palmer through "well!, very well!". It also occurs reduplicated: خوش خوش *xuṣṣ xuṣṣ*, see Vullers under جوی.

3. MhDa. 40. 16—17 runs:

۱ کد مټسټا سټ لټسټا وټسټا د مټسټا وټسټا
 سټ مټسټا د 17 مټسټا وټسټا لټسټا مټسټا سټ
 وټسټا مټسټا لټسټا وټسټا مټسټا

Then the text breaks off at the end of the folio, leaving the sentence unfinished, and the next folio is lost. Is the wording of the manuscript actually copied quite correctly? It is very much to be deplored that the part of the Sasanian law-book preserved in the MhDa. had not been reproduced mechanically like the first published part of the same (in the MhD.). Considering the difficulty of the matter, and being aware that the texts are certainly also—only one manuscript being available!—transmitted nothing less than faultlessly, one remains everlastingly in a state of uncertainty. But the meaning of

وټسټا does not seem therefore any more doubtful; with regard to the construction *pašt kartan apāk*, see p. 23, line 17.

I take it for granted that: (1) after سټ مټسټا *guft ku a* ټسټا

ka has been omitted; (2) before ټسټا *frazandān* likewise

an ۱ *u* had fallen out, and that (3) the *i* before مټسټا *xʷāstak* must be obliterated. I read, therefore: *u an-ē guft ku ka apāk žan i stūr pašt kunēt ku-m ēn 17 xʷāstak ō tō u frazandān āngōn dāt ku ō dūtak kē tō patiš stūr hēh*, and I translate it as follows: And another [sentence] runs: If he contracts with a woman who has the *cura* [for the family], the stipulation: "This object 17 is by me given as present to thyself and th[in]e children in such a way that to the family of which thou hast the *cura*. . . .". With reference to *stūr* "keeper, curator" and *stūrīh* "keeping, *cura*", see SRb. 14, note 1; 24 note 1. Cf. also p. 27, line 1 foll.

after the expiration of the fixed term in order that a new term of fulfilment should be arrived at; cf. for it our BGB. §326, par. 1. Besides and above, consult MhD. 73, 15-17 and 74, 2, where the question is discussed, whether the defendant comes to give 'evidence' (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ō gōw šavēt*) or not.

And obviously to the same thing reference is made in the Dēnkart (DkM. 706, 12):

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

..... 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (1) 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

u apar . . . žamān ō gōw kartan ka pasēmār nē āyēt adāp āyēt u . . . , i.e. And with regard to . . . the time for the making of the statement, if the defendant does not come or comes and . . . ; see for it West, SBE.

37, 55 (in § 11), who translates 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *gōw*—as well as 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *gōwišn*, e.g. in DkM. 711. 6, 18, in SBE. 37. 61—by "statement".

5. MhDA. 7. 6: 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pa pašt*
i apāk ham kart;

6. MhDA. 18. 11: 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *apāč ō pašt i pas ēstāt;*

7. MhD. 21. 2: 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hač pašt i*
andar mihryōn;

8. MhD. 17. 3 foll.: 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pēš hač ān pašt. . . .*
u pas hač ān pašt:

The four passages are not sufficiently clear to me; possibly, not quite correctly transmitted; yet that they contain the same *pašt* as the one discussed above, is hardly, I think, to be contested; for *pašt kartan apāk*—(in 5) see above p. 21; with reference to the use of *andar* in connection with *pašt* (in 7)

اوځو مېړه د اوځو مېړه اوځو اوځو 3 اوځو مېړه
 د اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه 1
 اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه اوځو مېړه 4 اوځو مېړه 2.

u apāk ān-ē guft ku ka gōwēt ku tāk ān i xwāstak vičārom vaxš dahom 2 *adāp xwāstak drust dārom u pas mātak ast i vičārēt xwāstak xwāstak*. 3 *marihāh hač grawih hišt lavēt u apārik nē hišt bavēt u vaxš xwāstak*. 4 *marihāh apāč u apārik apāč nē .ēstēt*, i.e. And further another [sentence] runs: If he says: "Until I pay for the object, I shall give a compensation¹ [for it] 2 or [else] keep the object as a deposit". And if he then pays partly² the [purchase] monies, the object is to be considered thereafter in 3 corresponding proportion³ as freed from the deposit, and the balance is to be considered as not freed; the compensation 4 also goes back in corresponding proportion, and the balance [does] not [go] back.

¹ *vaxš* "interest"; see for it WZKM. 27. 372, note 1.

² *ast i*; compare for that expression WZKM. 27, 359, note 4. A further example in the MhD. for *ast i* "partly" is the MhD. 2, 6 foll.:

.....*ka 2 mart pā ākōnēn āpām stanēnd u ān āpām ast i bē hilihēt* *

i.e. if two men contract a debt, and the debt is [further] partly remitted

.... *ast* has another meaning when constructed with

ka; thus GrBd. 224. 12 foll.:

ast ka pīt ahrav pus drvand, "it happens that the father is righteous, the son impious"; quite similar is also the next sentence.** A correct notion with regard to it is already found in Spiegel's "Einleitung", 2. 117. Compare moreover the use of the Aī. *astī* in Böhlingk's SW. 1. 143b under 10 [which has been pointed out to me by Wackernagel (by letter)].

³ *xwāstak-marihāh*, "with reference to the payment for the object"; *marihāh* "appropriate to payment, to account"; cf. the Mod Pers. *mar* "number".

* For the reading of * or * as final part of verbal forms see Bthl. MiranM. 2. 22, note. In MhD. there stands for it in several passages a sign resembling an elongated * with a dash across the 1, e.g. MhD. 72. 3; A. 6. 1.

** The Bd. vulgata omits in the first sentence the *ka*, in the second has instead of it —as often happens—incorrectly *kē*, 73. 20 foll.

concerns a gift on the strength of death; cf. for it BGB. § 22, 88, para. 2¹.

. That restriction of family authority is seemingly in vigour only with regard to the head-wife and her children. For it is said in MhD. 32. 1-4 :

1. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{13}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ $\frac{1}{15}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{17}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ $\frac{1}{19}$ $\frac{1}{20}$ $\frac{1}{21}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{23}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{25}$ $\frac{1}{26}$ $\frac{1}{27}$ $\frac{1}{28}$ $\frac{1}{29}$ $\frac{1}{30}$ $\frac{1}{31}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{34}$ $\frac{1}{35}$ $\frac{1}{36}$ $\frac{1}{37}$ $\frac{1}{38}$ $\frac{1}{39}$ $\frac{1}{40}$ $\frac{1}{41}$ $\frac{1}{42}$ $\frac{1}{43}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ $\frac{1}{45}$ $\frac{1}{46}$ $\frac{1}{47}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{49}$ $\frac{1}{50}$ $\frac{1}{51}$ $\frac{1}{52}$ $\frac{1}{53}$ $\frac{1}{54}$ $\frac{1}{55}$ $\frac{1}{56}$ $\frac{1}{57}$ $\frac{1}{58}$ $\frac{1}{59}$ $\frac{1}{60}$ $\frac{1}{61}$ $\frac{1}{62}$ $\frac{1}{63}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{65}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ $\frac{1}{67}$ $\frac{1}{68}$ $\frac{1}{69}$ $\frac{1}{70}$ $\frac{1}{71}$ $\frac{1}{72}$ $\frac{1}{73}$ $\frac{1}{74}$ $\frac{1}{75}$ $\frac{1}{76}$ $\frac{1}{77}$ $\frac{1}{78}$ $\frac{1}{79}$ $\frac{1}{80}$ $\frac{1}{81}$ $\frac{1}{82}$ $\frac{1}{83}$ $\frac{1}{84}$ $\frac{1}{85}$ $\frac{1}{86}$ $\frac{1}{87}$ $\frac{1}{88}$ $\frac{1}{89}$ $\frac{1}{90}$ $\frac{1}{91}$ $\frac{1}{92}$ $\frac{1}{93}$ $\frac{1}{94}$ $\frac{1}{95}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ $\frac{1}{97}$ $\frac{1}{98}$ $\frac{1}{99}$ $\frac{1}{100}$

*Žāmāsp 2 guft ku čiy ōnam āšnūt : xʾāstak i mart ō žan u frazand
dāt ēstēt u pas 3 bē frōšēt hač mart rixt apāč nē āwurišn ān-č
i čakar rād framān būt 4 ēstāt.* The text is unfortunately
not transmitted in such a way as to enable us to give a wholly
reliable translation. I translate with the proposed corrections :

¹ The middle-part of the passage in Mh.D. 31. 13 ff. omitted above is worded :

၁ ဟုတ် ရှိပေ အားဖြင့် ၂၄လောက် ၂၄လောက် ၂၄ ၃၅၀ ၂၄၀
 ∴ ၃၅၀ ၂၄လောက်

ê žan u frazand kê xwastak xwastak awiş dāt pa-ê rāh i xwastak sardārīh.

I do not understand the first word *सः* *śa*. One would expect "in favour, in the interests" of the wife and the children on whom the object was bestowed; one *xvāstak* is superfluous. But what is the purport of "in way of taking possession of the object (*xvāstak sardārih*)? is it sequestration?

2 Mg. ° 10 as often.

8 Ms. 1101; cf. p. 14, note 2.

⁴ Ms. 1919 ; see B t h l. MiranM. 2. 22. note.

5 Ms. 10.0.

שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂר וְשָׁלוֹשׁ וְיָמִים וְשָׁבוּעוֹת וְשָׁנִים.....לְשָׁנֵינוּ

5. With reference to the right of the creditor to exact from any of the co-debtors,² the payment which is due we may point out the passage in MhDA. 30. 10-12 where we read:

* *rāyēniēn*: for the meaning of the verb *rāyēnitan* in legal language see SRb. 22.

her or against her.¹ Yet, if the husband contracts a legal affair conjointly, in company² (cf. p. 4) with the wife with regard to a third person, the wife is considered with reference to that particular affair and for the duration of the validity of the same as freed from the conjugal authority of the husband; she is then actionable, without it necessitating a special authority from the husband; and the execution of the clause of the agreement, as far as a conjoint indebtedness has arisen from that conjoint legal affair ($\text{hamp} \times \times \times \text{ih}$)⁴, can be exacted by the creditor without any further conditions indiscriminately both from the wife and the husband; cf. p. 3.

With regard to this, of importance is the passage MhDa. 6. 14—16:

$\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ בְּחֵן אֶחָד מֵעֵצֵי הַחֵן$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַרְטוּ עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ בְּחֵן אֶחָד מֵעֵצֵי הַחֵן$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַרְטוּ עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ בְּחֵן אֶחָד מֵעֵצֵי הַחֵן$
 $\text{וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַרְטוּ עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ בְּחֵן אֶחָד מֵעֵצֵי הַחֵן}$

1 I am unable to make fit together with the wording of the text the contradictory translation of DkM. 706. 16 ff. by West in SBE. 37. 55, lines 16-18. The passage could be eventually considered as concerning a particular case similar to the one discussed above.

2 With reference to "company" (in the legal sense)—*hambāyih*, p. 31 foll. details can be found in MhD. 1. 17 ff. and 85. 7 ff. in two special chapters; see further 22. 3 ff.; 51. 15 ff. Companions are there divided in such who possess a joint property (hamxvāstak) and such

who have conjoint liabilities ($\text{hamp} \times \times \times$).* The MhDa. 1.

3, etc. adds to it a third class: of those, who have a joint income or profit, see below p. 57 foll.—MhDa. 4. 4 uses instead of *hamxvāstak* ākōnēn xvēš "possessing common property".

* I am unable to decipher the graphical combination $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$ MhD. 2. 9, 11², 12—no even $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$ 2. 8, nor $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$ 56. 3, nor $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$ 2. 1.

3 The edition $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$; see note 4 and p. 14, note 1.

4 The edition $\text{מִי שֶׁנִּשְׁמַרְטוֹ}$; see note 3.

16 17
 17
 6.1
 1 2
 .:

žan i pāt,xšāyihāh 16 ka-š pa hambāyih pat,grift adāp-aš šōd xāstak pa xēših awiš dāt 17 ēštāt ka-š at × × × ākih gōwēt xāstak i-š patiš ēštāt apāc ō šōd 6. 1 rasēt u žan ēn dāt,štān nēbavēt ka partāk kunēt ku t × × × āk būt hom, i.e.: When the chief wife is received by him into partnership [regarding the estate] or [when] money as property has been bestowed on her by the husband—: and if he charges her [then] with insubordination, then the money, which is in her possession, goes back on the husband. But that *dāt,štān* is not valid against the wife if she makes the legal declaration: "I have not been insubordinate".

at × × × ākih i žanān ēn bavēt kūr i frārōn i-š šōd framāyest nē kartan u ān i apārōn i nē kartan gōwēt kartan, i.e. As insubordination of the wives is considered this: not to do a good work which the husband has ordered her to do, and to do the evil works which the husband forbids her to do.—That concerns, moreover, not only the idea of the insubordination of the wife, but of all the members of the family with regard to the detainer of the family authority; cf. the chapter on insubordination MhDA. 4. 12—8. 2 and, besides, 3. 15-17, see below p. 56.

1 As often instead of *ka*.

2 The final sign of the word in the manuscript is the one discussed above p. 25, note.

his wife to another, who is [in] need of children 6 and is innocent of that need and expresses his demand of the wife in a conformable way 7 [and indeed] even without the assent of the wife; and when he gives [her] the property 8 of the wife does not go over to the person to whom he gives her.

6 his wife to another, who is [in] need of children 6 and is innocent of that need and expresses his demand of the wife in a conformable way 7 [and indeed] even without the assent of the wife; and when he gives [her] the property 8 of the wife does not go over to the person to whom he gives her.
 7
 8

The text of the *dāt, stān* has been transmitted—a case not often to be encountered in instances of a *dāt, stān* of a greater volume—quite irreproachably. With regard to my reading *an-ē* for 𐭠𐭣, see p. 13 note 1; in any case, the regular reading *ōē*—“to give his chief-wife to the one who . . .” would also hold good.

For the contents of the *dāt, stān* see below 2 and especially 3.

Linguistical and objective remarks.

1. 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *u apāk an-ē guft.*

With regard to 𐭠𐭣 *an-ē* “another” see AirWb. 138. 𐭠𐭣

spells as elsewhere *apāk*, but not the ordinary *apāk* derived from the Prae-Iran. **upākam*, which means “together (with)” =

tāk spurrr bavēt hamē ka ēvak kanēt ān i dīt nē pāt, xšāy bē ka kanēt adāp awžōn bahr i xwēš apar ōē i dīt bē hiliēn, i.e. “until it (the canal) is ready, always when one is digging the other must [also] be digging or, [he must] leave his part of the profit to the other one”.

* Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 .

Pers. ١, but the one having its origin in * *apākam* : "back, again" = Pers. ١, *vā* in *vā dāštan* "to retain, to restrain", *vā dādan* "to restore" etc.; compare for it Hübschmann, PSt. 21, 22 foll.¹ The construction *apāk ān-ē* "item aliud" is to be encountered often enough in MhD. in introductions to a new *dāt, stān*; thus, *u apāk an-ē guft*, as above, is to be found also in MhD. 102. 9, 12, 13, 15; 103. 7, 12, etc.; further, with the same verb, but with slight variations: *apāk an-ē guft*, MhD. 101. 1; 102. 3, 15; MhDA. 2. 4, etc.; similarly, when quoting some author: *apāk an-ē pusānvēh . . . guft*, MhD. 99. 3, 17²; further, with another verb: *apāk an-ē nipišt*, " . . . it is written", MhD. 6. 15, see also 19. 12, *apāk-ē an-ē nipišt* MhD. 6. 17; *apāk-ē an-ē hačapar nipišt* MhD. 72. 10; *apāk an-ē . . . nipēsēnd*, " . . . they write", MhD. 110. 13 foll.; *u apāk an-ē-č čāšt ēstēt*, " . . . it is being taught", MhD. 106. 17. Instead of (*u*) *apāk an-ē guft* there often stands merely (*u*) *an-ē guft*, see MhD. 99. 8, 13, 15, 17, etc., or *an-ē-č-ē* (١٩٥٥) *guft ēstēt* MhD. 19. 16; and along with *apāk an-ē pusānvēh guft* there is also found *ēvak an-ē pusānvēh guft*, MhD. 95. 12; see also 95. 15; 96. 3, 8, 10 foll., 12, 16.

2. Main wives and collateral wives.

١٩٥٥ (or also ١٩٥٥) *žan i pāt, xšāyihāh*³ is the chief wife, i.e. the rightful⁴ wife, who is at the same time the mistress of the house

(١٩٥٥) *katak bānūk*), as opposed to the collateral wife, the

١٩٥٥ *žan i čakarihāh*; see for it Bthl. SRb. 6

foll. If, as according to the above text, the husband enjoys the right of ceding the main wife according to his own good will to another, even without her assent, he is the more so entitled to act in that way with regard to the collateral wife. As the head of the family (١٩٥٥) *katak x^oatāy*) the husband

¹ For the difference MPB. *apāk*—*apāč* (from the Iran. * *up^o*) see *frāk—frāč* (from * *fr^o*); cf. Bthl. IF. 12. 99 note.

² See also below p. 56 in MhDA. 3. 13 foll.

³ In Pers. *Rivāyat*'s ١٩٥٥ *pādīšāh zan* or ١٩٥٥ *šāh zan*.

⁴ West translates "privileged".

wields the family authority (سردار خان - ۱۹۴۳) *sardārih* i *dūtāk* or *dūtāk sardārih*¹), of course, with certain restrictions, which concern, however, chiefly his position with regard to the main wife, cf., for instance, Bthl. SRb. 7, line 6 foll. and above p. 26 foll. See also below 3, p. 41 foll.

The Modern-Persian Parsi writings of the 15-17th centuries, the so-called "*Rivāyat's*" (SRb. 6, note 2) distinguish five categories of married women which are designated by special denominations; see for it SRb. 6, further ZendHss., 36 f., 131,

133,* 42 foll. Except the once occurring, PFr. 2 f. MPB. سرده خان which corresponds to the fifth of the denominations quoted therein, see SRb. 13, note,² I find in Middle-Persian texts only the first denomination (*pātozšāy*) and the fourth (*čakar*) by which the main and the collateral wives are designated here; see above.

The authors of the *Rivāyat's* certainly avoid altogether mentioning the conception of "collateral wife"—which is the actual meaning of *čakar*³—, for their writings are based on the norm of a strictly monogynous marriage, and the word *čakar* has accordingly, been given by them a new interpretation, see SRb. 7. — yet, one has only to remember the explanation of × *hafsne* × in F. 2 foll. (see line 22 foll.), as well as Houtum-Schindler's communications about the matrimonial circumstances of the modern Parsis in Persia, ZDMG. 36. 87. Even at present "a man can have there (in Yezd) two wives simultaneously". It is true that he is allowed to take a second wife only when the first one remains childless. If further, the second wife also remains barren, he is even allowed to take a third one. That

¹ See for it Sachau, Syr. Rechtsb. 3. 290, 318. The conception has gone over with the word into the Syriac legal language. Cf. further below p. 54.

² This denomination appears in the *Rivāyat's* in several variants which do not allow of a sure decision as to its original shape. The above Pahlavi-signs might be read *xvasrāyōn*, the second part of which could be correlated with the JAw. *grāyavan*; but the meaning of the JAw. word is quite uncertain, see AirW. 805.

³ Independently of how it is to be understood etymologically. The word has the outward appearance of a reduplicated formation. One might be induced to think of a relation with JAw. *čarāi* f. (AirWb. 581). Compare also Johansson, WZKM. 19. 237; Scheftelowitz, ZDMG. 59. 696, and Brugmann, Grdr. 2a. 425.

particular limitation of polygyny did certainly not exist in more ancient times. Whether a man did keep a collateral wife—or several such—or not at all, that, certainly, depended only on his personal tastes, as well as on his economic circumstances.

Princes used to keep a seraglio (سرايستان *šap, stān*), the ordinary citizen had to content himself with a single wife. That the amount of wealthiness was in that case of deciding momentum, follows, to my opinion, with sufficient clearness from the mutilated quotation of the Avesta—together with its explanation—, which has reached us in F. 2 f. line 6 foll.:

hapse apno xavō, which has been already discussed by me in ZDMG. 43 (1889), 668 foll. Transliterated correctly the sentence would most probably run:

هناك ما في الأفق *hapaθne afnaruḥā*, which would be

AI. *sapátinyā* (Instr.) *ápnasvān* (Nom), the former referring to *sapátinī*-f. "collateral wife",¹ the latter corresponding to *apnasvant*-Adj. "rich, wealthy"; see JAw. *nmānō.pathnī*- "mistress of the house". The accompanying explanation

however 2 žan u ēvak šōd

“two wives and one husband”, together with the meaning of the two words, do not leave, to my opinion, any doubt that the sentence, to which they belonged, was treating about polygyny, as occurring or—rather more correctly—being in use in wealthy circles.

Awestan *hapaθnī-* and Persian *vasnī*.

I add here to my above explanations a reference to the Pers. *vasnī* وِسنی, with regard to which the indigenous lexicon quoted by Vullers gives the following definition: "When two women have one husband, each one of them is a *vasnī* with respect to the other".³ The genuineness of the word

¹ Also "a rival", see below p. 38.

² I do not know what to make of the statement in the *Frahang* by Sachau, SWienAW. 1871-850, line 24: *وسنی گونده* (*vasni gūna*). In Justi-Jaba's "Dictionnaire Kurde" the Kurd. word *vasni* is not to be found, but there is indeed another word with the meaning "compagne de harém" (p. 456 a), namely *هوی* *hevi* (p. 456a) or *ههوی* *hewou*, *ههوی* *hewi* (p. 448a). with it is certainly connected the word quoted by Mann, MukriK. 1. 282, line 16,—*hawê[sadrîna*, which is translated 2, 439 by "Mitirau".

is confirmed by the Kurdish; Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 94, who quotes, as Kurdish of Khorāsān: *vasnī*, . . . : two wives of one husband call each other *vasnī* 'rival'.

I consider this Persian *vasnī* to be derived from some Iran. **hapaθnī kâ*.¹ The absence of the syllable *ha-* at the beginning of the word has nothing extraordinary in itself; compare the correlated word-forms: MPT. HŠ'GYRD *hašāgerd*—Arm. borrowed word *ašaker*—Pers. شاگرد *šāgird* "(priest) pupil"; see for it Bthl. ZumAirWb. 38, MiranM. I. 42. and Hübischmann, PSt., 120 foll. Likewise there is nothing peculiar about the initial *v* instead of the ancient *-p-*; cf. Pers. وارون *vārūn*, MPB. اپارون *apārōn*, and Pers. وا *vā*, MPB.

(اپاک =) *apāk*, above p. 34 foll.; see for it Hübischmann, PSt., 176, and Horn, GIrPh. Ib. 49 foll. There is an actual difficulty only in the *-s-* of *vasnī*, corresponding to the *θ* of the JAw. **hapaθnī*-, instead of which one would expect, in conformity with the usual transmutation of the *θ* - *h*-.

I would however draw attention to the fact that amongst the examples for the MPB. and the Pers. *-h-* evolved from *-θ-*, as given by Salemann, GIrPh. Ia, 261, Hübischmann, PSt. 203 foll. and Horn GIrPh. Ib. 93 foll., not one example of *-hn-* from *-θn-* is quoted. I have certainly suggested in AirWb.

196, 963, 1021, that the MPB. امل meaning "an ell, elbow"

should be read *arhn*, and that this should be considered an outcome of the JAw. *arəθna*- and as the source of the Pers. آران *āran*. That was a mistake; the Pers. *āran* is rather covered by the Greek ἄλεν *Hübischmann*, PSt. 208),

امل, however, or امل, is similarly to امل PF. 3g. merely a transliteration of the Awest. *arəθna*-. But, even, if *arhn*, with *-hn-* instead of *-θn-* after *r*, had been the correct reading, it could not have been proved by it, that *-θn-* could likewise become *-hn-* after a vowel. As quite uncertain at the least, must also be considered my reading *pihn* (AirWb. 906)—

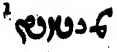

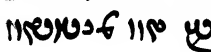
¹ Cf. Pers. کانی *kanī*, MPT. کانیک *kanīk*, from * *kanī kâ*-, alongside with JAw. *kaini*[ōa].

which presupposes the existence of a pre-Iran. **pīθnō*—for the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥 or 𐭯𐭮𐭥 which serves to render the JAw., *°piθwa*. “nourishment”—see AirWb. 642f., 731, 808f., 965—but which is also encountered elsewhere, see Horn, NpEt. 289, West, SBE. 37. 54 note. West is inclined to read the combination *pishōn* or else *pīkhvō*—see also Mills ZDMG. 60. 92 in § 5—, whereas Horn loc. cit. thinks the combination ought to be read *pishn*.



Any reading of the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥 which would bring it as near as possible to the JAw. *°piθwa*-, which it is intended to translate, would certainly have the preference before all the other readings. The circumstance which deterred me from correlating the words was that to the JAw. *frapiθwa*- “copiosus”—with *i* or *ī*—there corresponds the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥𐭥 *frapih* “fat”, and that also otherwise the pre-Iran. *-θw-* is succeeded by MP. *-h-*, see Bthl. WZKM. 30. 16. I should be now inclined to read 𐭯𐭮𐭥 “nourishment” *pihan* and to bring it back to an Ar. **pīṭ-yan*^o which would stand in the same relation to the Greek *παρ-έομαι* “I eat”, as the Greek *εἶδα*¹ “nourishment”, from **ed-yn-to* to *ēdō* “I eat”, see for it Brugmann Grdr.². 2a. 320¹. Synonymous words from different “roots” do indeed show most often the same termination; it might be that **pətyen* was formed after **edyn*—or the reverse—, or else the synonymous but differently derived words might have later developed a similarity between them; see for it Paul, “Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte” under the heading “Kontamination”.

With such a scarcity in comparatively convincing proofs it seems to me most questionable, indeed, whether the statement that the pre-Iran. *-θn-* becomes Mlr. *hn-* could be upheld, at least on such a wide scale. I shall not lay unnecessary stress upon the fact, that for V. 3, 20 = 9, 49 in the translation of the atonement-sentence contained therein the JAw. *paiti-miθnāiti* “he desists from, he renounces” is rendered through

¹ Alongside with the Greek *εἶδα*, *εἶδατος* the Aī. *°advan-* and *°advara-* “eating” must also be taken into consideration.

¹  *bē misnēt*; because in that particular instance the verb *misnēt* may be considered as a borrowed word relative to the cult. But it is not so easy to vindicate the hypothesis of being borrowed in the instance of the verb  *misnitan* in general, which occurs ten times—always in the combination  *andar tan misnitan*—DkM. 305. 3—15; I do not, it is true, sufficiently understand the text² so as to form a decisive opinion, but I think I may state that the verb here discussed must have a different meaning from the one encountered in V. 3. 20; the former being related to *maēθ-* “mittere”, the latter being correlated in my opinion with *maēt-* “to linger”, see AirWb. 1105 foll.

Yet, be it as it is, and should there even be found a more convincing example proving the MP. *-hn-* out of the pre-Iran. *-θn-*: still there always remains the possibility of that *-θn-* continuing besides in *-hn-*, dialectically also under another shape, namely in *-sn-*. We certainly have precisely for the pre-Iran *-θ-* the same twofold substitution also before other sonorous consonant sounds, and before *r* and *-sn-*; see GIrPh. 1a, 165 § 280 foll. and the MPT. PVHR *puhr*—PVS *pus*, “son”: JAw. *puθrō*; MPT. XYVBṢ *x^hēbaš*—MSS. XYPΘ *xēpaθ* “own”: JAw. *x^aaēpaiθya*.³ And it is exactly *-n-* which has had a peculiar influence, differing from all the other sonorous consonant sounds, e.g. *m*, on the preceding consonants, in any case already in pre-Iranian times; see GIrPh. 1a, 13 § 28, 1a, and 16 § 39. 3a; cf. JAw. *frašnəm* “question”—AI. *praśnām*, on the other hand, JAw. *asma*—AI. *ásmā*, and GAw. *sāsnā* “commandments”—AI. *śāsti* “he commands”, but *ahmī* “I am”—AI. *ásti* “he is”. In any case, a comparison of sounds based on an obvious correspondence of words—as I recognize it for instance in the correspondence of the Pers. *vasnī* with the AI. *sapátnī* (JAw. **hapaθnī*—), more reliable than the one based exclusively on grammatical hypotheses without being at all convincingly exemplified.

¹ 3rd sing., thus correctly IM.; otherwise  *om* or  *em*, 1st sing.

² A so-called translation of the passage is to be found in Sanjana's DkS. 7. 446, § 4–8. Nobody could guess from the same that the original text contains ten times the same combination *andar tan misnitan*.

³ See for it Btlh. IF. 23. 74 f., 80 f. and zEt. & Wb. 34 foll.

Amongst the many passages of the MhD. attesting of polygynous marriages one is especially noteworthy, because it shows that a man was not only entitled to have along with a main-wife one or several collateral wives, but that he even could have had at one and the same time two main-wives (*žan i pāt-xšāyihāh*, see above p. 35). The mention occurs in that passage of MhDA. I. 2, where an agreement with regard to an industrial partnership (*hamvindišn*, see p. 57) concluded by a husband with his two main-wives is discussed

مارت ۱ اپاک ژان ۲ ی پات-خشاییه‌هاہ ی خ‌ش‌ہ "vir unus cum mulieribus duobus privilegarius suis"; see for it below p. 53 on *vindišn*.

Considering that every main-wife is at the same time also "the mistress of the house" (see p. 35), such a kind of multiple marriage did most probably necessitate also a multiplicity of households; it must therefore have occurred the more seldom as it was more expensive.

3. On "Intermediary" marriages.

The word *niruzd* *نیروزد* "decayed, impoverished, needy" has been borrowed from Avestan (see AirWb. 1493) and is still written in a way that more exactly reproduces the JAw. *niuruzda*-(*niuruzda*-) *نیروزد*; see also DkM 737. 11; 750. 14 foll.; the explanation for PN. 25. 20 runs: *ku nē nayn* *کۄ نۄ ناین*

nē gōšt nēst, i.e. "there is neither bread, nor meat". The reason for which the husband A has to give up his main-wife to the head of the family B on the latter's request (see p. 6 line 20f.) and which entitles him to do so even without her consent, is a noteworthy one: it is the economic difficulty of B which has to be checked. In that way, the whole procedure falls under the conception of charity (*ahrvadāt*, see p. 6), the benevolent (*dūšārmihāh*, MiranM. 2. 8) practice of which with regard to an indigent correlative is prescribed by the Mazdayasnian creed as one of the foremost duties. Most charac-

1 Mss. incorrectly *نۄ*: a mistake often encountered.

teristically it is not the estate of the wife which has to serve as means of support—her dowry or what she might have earned—for it is stated most emphatically that the object (*xvāstak*) of the wife does not go over with her,¹—but merely her working power. The wife is lent by her lord (*sardār*, see SRb. 8), as a slave by his master (see above p. 8 foll.), or as a horse by his owner (see above p. 10 foll.), given in usufruct, and that half-marriage is, indeed, lasting—thus, according to WZKM. 27. 366; this class of marriages could be still better designated as an intermediary (interim), marriage—as long as it pleases A, or as long as it seems necessary for the putting in order of B's household. The authority (*sardārīh* "manus") over the wife remains in that case with A; yet, it is incumbent by the circumstances that, for the duration of the accorded and accomplished intermediary marriage, authority to a certain extent should be exercised by B as householder, who is considered as delegated or empowered for it—for "without authority there can be no marriage"; see MhD. 5. 1, Bthl. SRb. 14—, but he also had to take upon himself and to fulfil certain duties with regard to the wife lent to him, see for it below. The children born during the intermediary marriage return, according to MhD. 3. 17 foll.—Bthl. SRb. 8 foll.—as his property, to A, as the rightful lord of the wife on the ground of full marriage. It often happens that a wife and a slave are summed up together in the decisions of the MhD., see Bthl., WZKM. 27. 359. The fact is that they are both considered on principle legally not as subjects, but as objects, as a thing; the natural fruits of such a "thing" must, of course, belong to its owner, not to the temporary usufructuary.

The temporary lease of the wife of A to B is effected on the latter's request: "when B has expressed in a proper way his wish to have the wife". I understand the expression "in a proper way" *dātīhāh*, literally "legaliter", thus: the request was to be made in an established form including the use of certain formulas (*certa verba*)². The matter was considered under the light of an agreement; in return of the act requested by B from A, B had also to engage himself to effect certain counter-duties, especially, to take care (*cura*) of the wife received

¹ Cf. also DkM. 4. 13 foll.—Bthl. SRb. 13.

² Cf. for it p. 16 and p. 52, note 3.

on lease; see Bthl. WZKM. 27. 356.¹ Since it was possible that certain formulas had been created for the conclusion of such agreements, it is obvious that such cases were not at all uncommon.

The same is also proved by another circumstance: namely, that there existed certain denominations for the man and the woman having contracted such an intermediary marriage; in

the full marriage they were named 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *šōδ* and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *žan*, in

the half- (or intermediary) marriage 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *mērak* and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *zyānak*,

which I read according to its origin *zyānak*, without being able to vouch for the correctness of the reading; cf. for it Bthl. SRb. 16 and WZKM 27. 366, where the meaning of *mērak* and *zyānak* has already been correctly established. That this special meaning had been later on effaced and had in general ceded its place to the more common: husband and wife—thus in the dialect of the Parsis of the present day in Persia, see SRb. 16 foll., among the Lurs, see Mann, *Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, 189 (*mēra*), 191 (*shū*), and in Kurdish, see Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 90 (*mīreh*)² 76, (*šū*)—³, does not seem to me to contain anything extraordinary in itself; with the modification of the customs those names also lost their special significance.

Finally it must be pointed out that the obligation of charity could not have been alone the reason for the institution of such an intermediary marriage; the same must have obviously been the outcome of an amicable arrangement between the husband and wife as well, as might be seen from MhD. 3. 15 foll., see SRb. 8 foll.

¹ In the first instance there is the question of providing for; see MhD. 32. 12 f. (Bthl. SRb. 7), where the mention is made of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvariēn u dāriēn* "board and maintenance", and MhD.

7. 9 foll., 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvariēn u vastrak* "board and clothing".

² Just i Dictionnaire Kurde 392b. brings together *mār* "husband" with *mīr* "man"; see also Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 90 below.

³ It seems, as if the difference were not fully sustained even throughout the MhD. But in that I might be mistaken.

III. MhD. 2. 1-4.

[On debts—partnership—income].

Three men take [conjunctly] some money, as a loan; they draw up [about it] a statement; the one, who 2 has granted the loan, bestows further the money as a gift on one of the men: 3 [after that] that man is not entitled to demand from the partners more of the money as that which is his share.

visōir stanēnd āpām x^vāstak 3 mart ly
 hač pas dāt bē āpām 2 kē ān hambāšand
 oēšān ō x^vēših pa x^vāstak ān ān
 ān mart ān 3 dahēt 1 mart ō 1 mart
 x^vat i-š ān hač frāy i ān x^vāstak
 nē x^vāst hambāyān hač (u) nihāčēt

The text is transmitted correctly in all its essential points. It occurs of course that a 1 and a 2 are superfluous. (1st line) contains even two 3 in excess, most probably the copyist divided it into (hakar) + (gōwand).

This dāt, stān is the first in the section on "partnership" (hambāyih), MhD. 1. 17 up to 3. 8; see also above p. 27 note. That alone might have accounted for my supplementing, for the sake of greater elucidation, at the beginning of my translation the word "conjunctly". But at the end of the passage the three men are expressly designated as partners (hambāyān). Five lines below (2. 6) there stands: ka 2 mart pa āk, nēn āpām stanēnd, see page 27, note 1. Most probably in l. 1st the word for "conjunctly" (p. 4 foll.) has been omitted by a mistake of the copyist.

(For the contents of the dāt, stān see under 3.)

Linguistic and Objective Remarks.

1. On ऋ ऋ *āpām* "loan, debt", Skr. *ṛṇam*.

The same syntactical arrangement, as above: *x^aastāk¹ āpām . stanēnd²* "they take some money¹ or capital, as loan, as, debt". is also found in MhD. 89. 11 foll.

שָׁמַיְךָ וּנְבִיאֶיךָ לְפָנֶיךָ אֵלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

*ka xwāstak i vahmān hač mihryōn āpām stāt*², i.e. when such and such sum of money was taken from *Mihryōn* as a loan, —further MhD. 38. 7-9:

שָׁמַר לְאִמּוֹ שׁוֹר מִצֵּד מִדְּמֹאָה³ וְהִבֵּט וְלֹאִן וַיִּסְמֹךְ וְ

מחזורי חג ויום כיפור, 8 ימים

اوڊيٽر انٽرنيشنل ڪمپني پرائيويٽ لميٽيڊ

[illegible]

ka farroẖ^v pa āpām stātan³ i x^vāstak u grawakānih i x^vāstak andar mihryōn vičir hanbašēt 8 u pas mihryōn x^vāstak x^vāhē hač syāvaš bē guft ku tāk ān vičir apāō dahēt 9 pāt, xšāy ka dram nē vičārēt, i.e. When Farroẖ^v makes out a statement regarding the taking over of the debt of a capital and the deposit guarantee for Mihryōn⁴, and Mihryōn demands the capital back at a later date—: it is said by Syāvaš : until he (M.) returns the statement, he (F.) is not bound to pay [back] the capital.⁵

In MhD. 2. 14 the capital is designated by a round sum:

سوم نرسه س وودنه [ر] دلا ه نرسه ز
نلانو وچ م س وودنه اوو:

¹ *xvāstak* means generally "object" in the legal sense of the word (WZKM. 27. 363); in most cases, however, "money" is understood under the word.

² For the reading *stan-zi*, etc. along with the infinit. *stātan* see B t h l. IF. 38. 11 foll.

* See for the reading of the termination p. 25 note *

4 For the expression *viðr kartan andar* see above p. 31, note 1. It concerns a mortgage-deed; see also p. 49.

⁶ Cf. for it Sachau, SyrRechtsab. 3. 169, § 5.

The above-named lawyers thus represent the opinion that the creditor of one of the co-partners is entitled to indemnify himself at the expense of the joint property of the company, as far as the debt contracted exceeds the amount of the share of the debtor in the company, in such a way that each of the partners is responsible for the other partners up to the amount of his own share in the company. Whether that opinion was the generally valid one, seems to be rather doubtful, considering the manner in which it is put forth.

I draw here attention to DkM. 713. 20 (= West 8. 20. 81). That passage also concerns *āpām* "debt" and *hambāyān* "partners". And the passage deals, indeed, with the joint responsibility of the heirs for the debts of the testator. It runs:


[illegible]

apar patkāriṣṇ i āpām i pitarān ka ēvak hač hambāyān xʷastūk u apāriḱ miḥ ēstand; i.e. on the lawsuit for the debts of the parents, when one of the partners recognizes them and the others contest them.—Under partners here are meant the joint heirs; thus also MhD. 59. 14. Unfortunately no decision for the case is given. The translation by West SBE. 37. 65 seems to me to be based on a total miscomprehension of the actual meaning of the text.¹

In other passages containing *āpām stūtan* the word *x'āstak* is omitted. Thus MhD. 2. 6 foll., see p. 27, note 1; MhD. 30. 10 foll., see p. 29, and MhD. 40. 5 ff., wherewith compare my *MiranM.* 1. 16. Further MhD. 76. 13-17:

14 מדינות 2
15 מדינות 1

1 West translates 𐎠𐎣 "have come"—"and the rest have come"—, but the word cannot be, as elsewhere, *mat* "venit", it must represent the opposite of *𐎠𐎣* (for it Hübbschmann, AGR. 161). I read it, referring to my AIRWb. 1181 f., under *Pū*, *mih*, and basing myself for the rendering of *mih ēštātan* by "to behave decliningly, to deny, to contest" upon AI. *mithyā kartum* in PW. 6. 778 and Böhtlingk, SW. 5. 79a, b.

² The word is here—and twice again in the same *dātastān*, see for it above p. 17 with note—written ⁰ , with a superfluous initial 1.

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cussion, treats of the drawing up (*hanbāštan*) of a deed (*vičir*) for a debt, as well as of a mortgage-brief. Mortgage-contracts have to be put in writing, at least such of the same where real estate serves as security; they belong in the Avestan nomenclature (see Bthl., *MiranM.* 2. 5) to the last (the sixth) and highest class of agreements: *čaiti* . . . *mičra*. . . ? . . . *xšvaš* *xštō dairghu.mazō*, i.e. how many agreements (are there)? . . . Six . . . The sixth is concluded for mortgaging real estate; V. 4. 2.

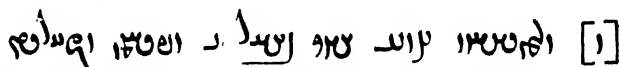
The origin of the MPB. word *āpām*, to which in Persian there corresponds not only *آوام* *āvām*, but also *وام* *vām* or *فام* *fām* (GlrPh. 1b, 79), remains unestablished up to the present; cf. Hübschmann PSt., 19; Horn GlrPh. 1b. 20, 22, 79 and Salemann, GlrPh. 1a. 271, whose interpretation—he correlates the word with the Pers. یافتن *yāftan*, “to obtain”—see, however Bthl. AirWb. 72, note 9—is certainly erroneous. I am of the opinion that two different original forms are underlying it: combinations with the same final link, but with different initial links, and, indeed, praeverbs, namely, the prae-Iran. **ā-īāma-* and **upa-īāma-*, both meaning actually “taking on oneself”, see AP. *āyasatā* in AirWb. 1263, under 3, and Heyne, DWb.² I. 102: “anleihen, leihend an sich nehmen”. For the former there would be expected MP. **āīām*, for the latter (in voluble speech) **apām*, later on *awām*.¹ That is continued in Pers. *vām* (see *MiranM.* 1. 41, below), whilst **āīām* became later *āvām* = Pers. *āvām*, through a process of equalisation with the synonymous word. Whether the MPB. word represented by *𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀* was pronounced with a long or a short initial vowel, or, (which might be concluded from the Persian derivated forms) with a vacillating quantity, cannot be decided upon from the graphical shape of the word. The *𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀* *āvām* of the Pazandists is not convincing for the (exclusive) length of the initial vowel; they also write *āwāgi* for *𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀* *apākih*² “assistance” from **upāk*, and quite regularly *āwāyistan* for *𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀* *apāyestan*² later *awāyistan*² = Pers. *بایستان* *bāyistan*; see for it Bthl. WZKM. 29. 12 ff.

¹ On the initial *a* therein see above p. 2, under 3.

² Strictly speaking *ap*, *aw* see the preceding note.

2. *ō ōēšān mart ō mart 1.*

It runs literally: “ad illos homines ad hominem unum”, but its actual meaning is: “ex illis hominibus ad (hominem) unum”. The same kind of expression is found in MhDA. 3. 2, see p. 51, and quite a similar one—only that the noun occurs but once—MhD. 2. 7: [When two men take up conjointly a debt . . . , cf. p. 25, note 2]

[1] 

[u] ōēšān mart ēvak bahr i xʷēš vičārēt, i.e. literally: “[et] illi [homines] homo unus partem suam solvit”, as much as to say: “[and] one of the men pays his share [of the debt]”. A little greater is the divergence in the passage MhDA. 4. 3 foll.; see p. 24 ff.¹

3. On the Contents of the *dātestān* MhD 2. 1 ff.

The *dātestān* represents the following opinion: As far as a company has taken up a certain capital, the creditor cannot give the capital as a present to one of the partners in such a way that the others should now become his debtors, but only to the company, as a whole, so that each of the partners gets an equal part of it according to the amount of his share in the company², which is, however, supposed to be essentially equal.

That idea of sharing by all the partners in common any increase in the property of the single partner is also often encountered elsewhere, although not always in such a definite way as in the above sentence.

Peculiarly worded is the case decided upon in MhDA. 4. 4 foll. with regard to two men, who are *ākōnēn xʷēš* (see p. 30, note 2) i.e. who have some property in common, who share their property with each other. That Solomonian *dātestān* is ascribed to the lawyer *Rāt Ōhrmazd*:

¹ The edition has after that a superfluous 1.—For the manner of expression: *mart 2 ākōnēn xʷēš ēvak* . . . *ēvak*, literally: “homines duo qui rem communem habent unus . . . unus,” in the sense of: “ex hominibus duobus. . . unus”, see above p. 46-47.

² *i-š xʷal nihāčēt*, “quod ad eum ipsum pertinet”. The same turn of phrase also in MhD. 11. 12: *har 3 mart pa bahrak čīyōn-šān nihāčēt*, i.e. all the three men to the degree to which they participate; cf. also AI. *nī sacate*.

rišn ō paštākēnišn ; 5 *u ka ēvak andar nē apāy,stan gōwēt ōē i dīt patīrišn ō paštākēnišn u-š* 6 *nēm 1 bē rasēt* ; i.e. when two men conjointly 2 are partners in gains¹ and to one of the men² some money is made a present of and he says : "I do not 3 need it"³ : there have been [lawyers,] who said :

¹ i.e. have constituted themselves into an industrial company. For the conception *vindišn, hamvindišn* see the next paragraph.

² For the construction cf. *supra* p. 50.

³ i.e. he declines the gift which was obviously effected by the mode of expression quoted herein **m andar nē apāyēt* or **m nē apāyēt* ; see MhD. 17. 8 f. :

וְאִי שֶׁלֹא יִשְׁלַח לְיָדוֹ מִן הַכֶּסֶף הַזֶּה * *ka ō apurnāyak xwāstak dahand u pit gōwēt ku-m andar nē apāyēt*, i.e.

when money is bestowed on a person under age, and the father declares : "I do not need it" ;—the same mode of expression is found in MhD. 19. 9, where there stands : *ku-mān andar nē apāyēt* ;— MhD. 17. 9 foll. :

וְאִי שֶׁלֹא יִשְׁלַח לְיָדוֹ מִן הַכֶּסֶף הַזֶּה 10.... *ka šōd*. . . 10. *žan i xwēš pa vindišn pātōxšāy kunēt u ka-š-aš xwāstak*

dahand gōwēt ku-m nē apāyēt . . . , i.e. when the husband . . . makes his wife empowered to dispose of the income and [then], when money is bestowed on her, declares : "I do not need it" . . . ;— further, MhD. 17. 5-7 :

וְאִי שֶׁלֹא יִשְׁלַח לְיָדוֹ מִן הַכֶּסֶף הַזֶּה 6 *ka šōd*. . . 6. *žan i xwēš pa vindišn pātōxšāy kunēt u ka-š-aš xwāstak*

dahand gōwēt ku-m nē apāyēt . . . , i.e. when the husband . . . makes his wife empowered to dispose of the income and [then], when money is bestowed on her, declares : "I do not need it" . . . ;— further, MhD. 17. 5-7 :

וְאִי שֶׁלֹא יִשְׁלַח לְיָדוֹ מִן הַכֶּסֶף הַזֶּה 7 *ka šōd*. . . 7. *žan i xwēš pa vindišn pātōxšāy kunēt u ka-š-aš xwāstak*

dahand gōwēt ku-m nē apāyēt . . . , i.e. when the husband . . . makes his wife empowered to dispose of the income and [then], when money is bestowed on her, declares : "I do not need it" . . . ;— further, MhD. 17. 5-7 :

* Ms. *u pas*

** Ms. *ku man*, which would be *ku man* instead of *ku-m* ; see above p. 50, note 1. I do not see any reason for the use of the emphatical form.

† Repeated in the Ms.

†† The Ms. bears *farroxv* after *u*.

There comes [then] also no part of it to the other. And in one place it is [furthermore] written : 4 It comes a part of it to the other. And it seems to me¹ thus : Both of them ought to have made the acceptance legally recognized ; 5 and if the one declares not to need it, then the other ought to make the acceptance legally recognized, after which 6 the half of it comes over to him.

On 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *vindišn*.

Compare for it especially MhDA. 1-4. 10. Every kind of income is expressed through *vindišn* "gain", before all, however, the pay for work². Thus for instance MhDA. 2. 16 foll.

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𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

ka mart vindišn i anšahrīk bē dahēt u pas anšahrīk āzāt kunēt vindišn i 17 anšahrīk apāč nē āwurišn, i.e. When somebody spends the income of his slave and liberates the slave after that, he has not to refund the income of the slave. The next *dāt, stān* treats about the wife³, MhDA. 2. 17 f. :

¹ In view of the antithesis, the emphatical casus obl. should be required, that is, instead of *u-m āngōn suhēt*, rather *u man āng. s.* Most probably the original manuscript bore 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 — *u man*, with the seldom used regular phonetical spelling 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, instead of the ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 ; see for it Unvala, König Husrav (see p. 14, note 7), 38, § 103, note 1. The copyist might in that case have mistaken 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *u man* for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *u-m* and put for it in the text the ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. It happens, however quite seldom that the compiler of the MhD.—*Farroḫ mart i Vahrāmān*, see MhD. 80. 14—should express his own opinion. He generally confines himself to the rôle of a mute collector.

² 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *handōčišn* seems to stand in MhDA. 2. 4 in antithesis to it, i.e. "savings, money saved".

³ Cf. above p. 42, line 24.

dahēt . . . i.e. And it is transmitted as a teaching¹: the slave who belongs half to *Farrox*^v, the rest to *Mihryōn*,—² if *Farrox*^v makes him entitled to dispose over his earnings and somebody bestows on him some money, . . . The end of the rather extensive *dāt, stān* is incomprehensible for me.

MhDA. 3. 12 foll. runs :

[illegible]

u būt kē guft ku ka-š pa vindišn pāt,xšāy 13 kunēt xʷāstak
[i] pa anšahrik bē ēstēt andar ō xʷatāy nē barišn, i.e. And there
 were [lawyers] who have said : When he makes him³ entitled
 to the disposal over his earnings, then the money which is in
 the possession of⁴ the slave has not to be delivered to the
 master.

Further MhDA. 3. 13—17:

¹ I have my doubts with regard to the correctness of the wording given. After *čāšetak* "teaching" one would expect the name of some lawyer; cf. Šnš. 1. 3 in SBE. 5. 243.

² For the case of two or more masters sharing in the possession of one slave there is another peculiar example in MhD. 1. 6 f.:

[illegible]

mart 1 ka-š anēahrik i pa 10 bahr 1 bahr āzāt bē kart fruzand-ēc i 7 hač ān anēahrik zāyēt har ēvak pa 10 bahr 1 bahr āzāt, i.e. When a man has liberated the slave one tenth * of whom is his own, then the children born of that slave are each one free to the extent of one tenth *. [How such a one-tenth freedom was treated within practical life, is not quite clear to me. Cf. also MhDa. 2. 1].

3 The slave.

⁴ In possession of . . . ; see for the expression MhDA. 3. 9 foll.; MhD. 17. 7 (above p. 52, note 3).

* For the expression compare the passage in MhD. 54, 3 : བུ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་

I also am of the same opinion¹; for, if he convicts² her of insubordination, 17 then all the profits which [have been allotted] to her by the husband, return to the husband.

Instead of *vindišn*, *kār vindišn* is also encountered by which the idea of "pay for work" is expressed even more distinctly; MhDA. 2. 14 foll.

۱ ۴۴ وندش ۳۳ کس- وندش ۱۵ [ر] وندش
۲ ۴۴ وندش ۱۵ وندش ۳۳ کس- وندش ۱۵
۳ ۴۴ کس- وندش ۱۵ وندش ۳۳ وندش ۱۵

u ka žan andar žanīh kār vindišn i xʾat xʾēš 15 bē ō šōd dahēt 'u pas žan hač žanīh hilihēt kār vindišn bē nē barišn, i.e. And when the wife in the state of matrimony hands over to the husband her own earnings, and [when] afterwards the wife is dismissed from matrimony, she is not allowed to take with her [her] earnings.

For the conception of *hamvindišnīh* "industrial partnership" we have before all to point out the passage already taken into consideration on p. 30, note 1 of the MhDA. I. 2—6;

۳ ۴۴ وندش ۳۳ کس- وندش ۱۵
۲ ۴۴ وندش ۳۳ کس- وندش ۱۵
۳ ۴۴ وندش ۳۳ کس- وندش ۱۵

u an-ē guft ku +ka+pa vižir 1+pa 3 bahr ē bahr ō mihryōn u apārik ō farrox dahand mātakwar farrox dārišn u +ō mihryōn hampačēn +1 dahišn i.e. And another [sentence] runs: When a third part is bestowed with a declaration on *Mihryōn* and the remainder on *Farrox*, then *Farrox* must have the original deed and to *Mihryōn* a copy of it should be given. [Under declaration a will is meant the original document going to the main heir, while the secondary heir has to be supplied with a copy.—

The words marked by + are intercalated by me. Instead of ۳۳ the edition bears ۳۳].

¹ Literally: I also know thus.

² Otherwise the verb *apar stātan* has not been encountered by me. The meaning, however, "to convict of" or else "to catch in the act of —(d e p r e h e n d e r e)" hardly awakens any doubts.

belong the decisions directly opposite to each other in MhDA. 17. 13—16. The compiler of the MhD. has placed alongside these two decisions owing to the similarity of the cases discussed, without pointing out the contradictoriness of the decisions by adding, as elsewhere, the words *būt kē guft* "there have been [lawyers] who said" (see p. 10). It runs :

[illegible]

ka gōwēl 14 ku en x^aāstak tāk man u tō žīndak hēm āk,nēn
dūrēm ka ēvak mīrēt ōē i dīt 15 nē dārišn.—u ka gōwēl ku ¹
ēn x^aāstak¹ man u tō tāk žīndak hēm āk,nēn dārēm ka ēvak mīrēt
16 adak,č ōē i dīt tāk ¹ žīndak dāštan dast,warīhūh, i.e. When
he says: 14 This money shall be as long as I and thou live
our conjoint property”: when one [of the two] dies, the
other is 15 not entitled to keep it.—And when he says: “This
money shall I and thou, as long as we live, possess conjointly”;
when one [of the two] 16 dies, the other is entitled to keep
it as long as he lives.

¹ Supplemented by me, see the preceding sentence.

INDICES.

A. PASSAGES.

MhD.

I. MIDDLE-PERSIAN.

AVn. 3. 18	..	..	19
Bd. 73. 20	..	..	25 note
Dk(M). 5. 6	..	..	22 note
305. 3-15	..	..	40
474. 1 foll.	..	..	2
540. 18, 21	..	..	22 note
706. 12	..	..	23
16	..	..	3 note
16 foll.	..	..	30 note
711. 6, 18	..	..	23
713. 20	..	..	47
737. 11	..	..	41
750. 14 foll.	..	..	41
788. 11	..	..	22 note
GrBd. 224. 12 foll.	..	..	25 note
Kn(N). 12	..	..	6
MhD. 1. 2-6	..	..	57
6 foll.	..	..	55 note
10	..	..	31 note
12 foll.	..	..	58
17 foll.	..	..	30 note
17-3. 8	..	..	44
2. 1 foll.	..	..	50
1, 8, 9, 11, 12	..	..	30 note
1-4	..	..	44
4	..	..	3 note
	..	..	33 note
6	..	..	4, 44
6 foll.	..	..	25 note
	..	..	47
7	..	..	50
14	..	..	45
14 foll.	..	..	57
14-16	..	..	46
3. 9	..	..	3 note
17 foll.	..	..	42
5. 7 foll.	..	..	33 note
6. 2	..	..	3 note
4.	..	..	11
8 foll.	..	..	33 note
13-14	..	..	3 foll.
14	..	..	33 note
15	..	..	35
17	..	..	35
7. 2	..	..	11
6	..	..	5
8. 2	..	..	11
13. 14	..	..	11

17. 3 foll.	..	..	6, 12 note, 23
5 foll.	..	..	52 note
7	..	..	55 note
8 foll.	..	..	52 note
9 foll.	..	..	55 note
10 foll.	..	..	54
13-16	..	..	59
18. 10	..	..	7 note
19. 9	..	..	52 note
12	..	..	35
16	..	..	35
20. 1, 4	..	..	11
21. 2	..	..	6, 23
9	..	..	14 note
22. 1	..	..	5 note
2	..	..	5 note
3 foll.	..	..	30 note
23. 4	..	..	5 note
30. 8	..	..	6
10	..	..	4
10-12	..	..	29
31. 1	..	..	6
12 foll.	..	..	26, 27 note, 48
32. 1-4	..	..	27
3	..	..	14
12 foll.	..	..	43 note
35. 9	..	..	11
38. 7 foll.	..	..	45, 48
40. 5 foll.	..	..	47
9	..	..	33
16	..	..	5
42. 11	..	..	5 note
45. 15, 16 foll.	..	..	33 note
46. 2	..	..	33 note
50. 14 foll.	..	..	33 note
51. 15 foll.	..	..	30 note
54. 3	..	..	55 note
56. 3	..	..	30 note
58. 3	..	..	33 note
4 foll.	..	..	8 foll.
59. 13	..	..	29 note
14	..	..	47
60. 3, 5	..	..	46 note
70. 10	..	..	24
71. 8	..	..	6
9-12	..	..	22
10	..	..	6, 22
13, 14, 17	..	..	6

MhD.

72.	3	..	..	25 note
	3 foll.	..	..	9
	10	..	..	35
	10 foll.	..	..	7
73.	15-17	..	..	23
	17	..	..	7 note
74.	2	..	..	23
	3, 7	..	..	7 note
76.	13-17	..	..	47
80.	14	..	..	53 note
85.	7 foll.	..	..	30 note
	11 foll.	..	..	33 note
	15 foll.	..	..	33 note
89.	11 foll.	..	..	45
95.	12, 15	..	..	35
96.	3, 8, 10 foll., 12,			
	16	..	..	35
99.	3, 17	..	..	35
	8, 13, 15	..	..	35
101.	1	..	..	35
	4 foll.	..	..	9
102.	3, 15	..	..	35
	9, 12, 13, 15	..	..	35
103.	7, 12	..	..	35
104.	1-4	..	..	24
	8	..	..	11
106.	17	..	..	35
107.	4, 7	..	..	11
110.	13 foll.	..	..	35
MhDA.	1. 2	..	..	41
	3	..	..	30 note
	5	..	..	33 note
	7	..	..	54
	8	..	..	46 note
	12	..	..	58
	16	..	..	5
	1-4. 10	..	..	53
	2. 1	..	..	54
	4	..	..	35
	5, 7, 11	..	..	11
	16 foll.	..	..	53
	17 foll.	..	..	53 foll.
3.	1-6	..	..	51
	2	..	..	50
	6 foll.	..	..	54
	9 foll.	..	..	55 note
	12 foll.	..	..	55
	13 foll.	..	..	35 note
	13-17	..	..	55 foll.
	15-17	..	..	32 note
4.	3 foll.	..	..	50
	4	..	..	30 note
	4 foll.	..	..	50
	12-8. 2	..	..	32 note

MhDA.

5.	6 foll.	..	..	31 note
	15-6. 1	..	..	31 foll.
	16	..	..	31
6.	1	..	..	25 note,
		..	..	31 note
	2	..	..	31
	4	..	..	31 note
	14 foll.	..	..	29, 30
7.	6	..	..	5, 23
	9 foll.	..	..	43 note
10.	13-11. 8	..	..	12 foll.
	15 foll.	..	..	18
	15-17	..	..	6
11.	3 foll.	..	..	18
	4 foll.	..	..	9 note
	4, 5, 8	..	..	6
	8 foll.	..	..	15 foll.
12.	17	..	..	6
13.	17	..	..	7 note
14.	12	..	..	14 note
18.	11	..	..	6, 23
23.	15	..	..	15 note
24.	14	..	..	15 note,
		..	..	24
25.	7	..	..	14 note
30.	10-12	..	..	29, 47
33.	3	..	..
	15	..	..	56 note
40.	16	..	..	5, 6
	16-17	..	..	21
Mx.	49. 24 foll.	..	..	29
PahlT.	32. § 62	..	..	17
	58. 13	..	..	7 note
	116. 11	..	..	19
PN.	6. 6	..	..	22 note
	25. 20	..	..	41
	170. 18	..	..	7 note
(Tahm.)	20. 10 foll.	..	..	33 note
PV.	2. 2	..	..	28
	19. 7	..	..	7 note
PVr.	1. 9	..	..	22 note
	9. 3	..	..	13 note
PY.	1. 3	..	..	28 note
	9. 10	..	..	28 note
	57. 28	..	..	22 note
PYt.	6. 5	..	..	28 note
Šnš.	1. 3	..	..	47 note
Aog.	94	..	..	28 note
PF.	2 f.	..	..	36
	3 g	..	..	38
	27 b	..	..	22 note

II. AWESTAN.

V. 3. 20(=9. 49)	.. 39
4. 2 .. ..	.. 49
Y. 9. 4 .. ..	.. 28

III. PERSIAN.

Šn. 1524. 485 .. ..	.. 16 note
1541. 792 .. ..	.. 16 note

B. WORDS.

I. PAHLAVI IN TRANSCRIPTION.

[Note.—The words in transcription are arranged according to the Awestan alphabet, as in the Air Wb., those in original script according to the order followed in the FrP. (Junker)].

<i>ātuvānikih</i> .. ..	.. 6, 10
<i>apāk</i> "again" .. ..	.. 7, 34, 38
<i>apāk—apāb</i> .. ..	.. 35 note
<i>apākih</i> .. ..	.. 49
<i>apām v. āpām</i> .. ..	.. ..
[<i>andar</i>] <i>nē apāyēt</i> .. ..	.. 52 note
<i>apāyēstan</i> .. ..	.. 49
<i>apēspāriin</i> .. ..	.. 8
<i>awikānik</i> .. ..	.. 16
[<i>pā</i>] <i>avinasih</i> .. ..	.. 6
<i>ahravdāt</i> .. ..	.. 41
[<i>pā</i>] <i>ākōnēn</i> 4 foll. .. ..	.. 44
<i>ākōnēn xvēš</i> .. ..	.. 30 note, 50
<i>āpām</i> .. ..	.. 26, 45 foll.
„ <i>stātan</i> .. ..	.. 45 foll.
<i>ān</i> (restrictive) .. ..	.. 28 note
<i>āmār, ēmār</i> .. ..	.. 22 note
<i>katak bānūk</i> .. ..	.. 35
„ <i>xvātāy</i> .. ..	.. 35
<i>katas</i> .. ..	.. 33 note
<i>kqrūk</i> .. ..	.. 38 note
<i>kūr vindišn</i> .. ..	.. 57
<i>gōw, gōwišn</i> .. ..	.. 23
<i>šakar</i> .. ..	.. 36
<i>tarsāk</i> .. ..	.. 31
<i>tāvān</i> .. ..	.. 6
<i>dastwārīh</i> .. ..	.. 29
<i>dāt pašt xvas</i> .. ..	.. 12 foll.
<i>dūtīhāh</i> .. ..	.. 42
<i>dūtēstān</i> .. ..	.. 3
<i>dūtak sardār</i> .. ..	.. 36
<i>dūšarmīhāh</i> .. ..	.. 41
<i>drust dāstān</i> .. ..	.. 24 foll., 28 foll.
<i>patmān</i> .. ..	.. 6, 12

<i>pasēmār, pasmār</i> .. ..	.. 22 note
<i>pašt</i> .. ..	.. 5 foll.
<i>pašt kartan apāk</i> .. ..	.. 5
<i>pašt dāt xvas</i> .. ..	.. 12 foll.
<i>pātoxsāy</i> .. 3 note, 36, 56, 58 note	
[<i>nā</i>] <i>pātoxsāy bē ka</i> .. ..	.. 33 note
<i>pēšēmār, pēmār</i> .. ..	.. 22 note
<i>būt kē [āngōn] guft</i> .. ..	.. 10, 59
<i>frāk—frāb</i> .. ..	.. 35 note
<i>nikīrāy</i> .. ..	.. 11
<i>nikīritān</i> .. ..	.. 11
<i>nipūšt</i> .. ..	.. 5
<i>niruzd-ih</i> .. ..	.. 41
<i>nihāčēt</i> .. ..	.. 50 note
<i>mart</i> (juridical) .. ..	.. 4
<i>mātakwar</i> .. ..	.. 57 note
<i>mār</i> .. ..	.. 22 note
<i>mārik</i> .. ..	.. 22 note
<i>mārihāh</i> .. ..	.. 25 note
<i>mērak</i> .. ..	.. 43
<i>mih ēstātan</i> .. ..	.. 47 note
<i>pa ē yāvar</i> .. ..	.. 4, 29 note
<i>vaxš</i> .. ..	.. 6, 25 note
<i>vičīr kartan andar</i> .. ..	.. 45 note
<i>vindišn</i> .. 15 note, 41, 53 foll.	
<i>rāyēnītan</i> .. ..	.. 29 note
<i>rixt</i> .. ..	.. 14 note
<i>sardār-ih</i> .. ..	.. 42
<i>surdār i dūtak</i> .. ..	.. 36, 54
<i>stānēt : stātan</i> .. ..	.. 45 note
[<i>apar</i>] <i>stātan</i> .. ..	.. 57 note
<i>stūrīh</i> .. ..	.. 21
<i>sritīh</i> .. ..	.. 28 note
<i>šapestān</i> .. ..	.. 37
<i>šōd</i> .. ..	.. 43
<i>zyānak</i> .. ..	.. 43
<i>žan</i> .. ..	.. 43
<i>žan i šakarīhāh</i> .. ..	.. 35
„ <i>i pātoxsāyīhāh</i> .. ..	.. 35, 41
<i>žwēstan</i> .. ..	.. 20
<i>handōčēšn</i> .. ..	.. 53 note
<i>hakar ka</i> .. ..	.. 9 note
<i>hambāy-ih</i> .. ..	.. 4, 30 note
.. ..	.. 31, 44, 46 note, 47
[<i>pā</i>] <i>hambāy dāstān</i> .. ..	.. 31
„ „ <i>grīftān</i> .. ..	.. 31
<i>hambāstān</i> .. ..	.. 49
<i>hamvindišn-ih</i> .. ..	.. 41, 57 foll.
<i>xvarišn u dārišn</i> .. ..	.. 43 note
„ „ <i>vastrak</i> .. ..	.. 43 note
<i>xvāstak</i> .. ..	.. 4, 42, 45 note
„ <i>mārihāh</i> .. ..	.. 25
„ „ <i>sardārīh</i> .. ..	.. 27 note
<i>10 bahr 1 bahr</i> .. ..	.. 55 note
<i>100 gōših</i> .. ..	.. 28 note

II. PAHLAVI IN ORIGINAL SCRIPT.

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 — 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 .. 41

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *zambūt* (p. n.) 14 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *nihāōēt* 50 note

𐭥𐭥 = *ōē, hand* 13 note

𐭥𐭥 = *an-ē* 34 "

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *u pašt* 5

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (i.e. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) inst. of

𐭥𐭥 "well" .. 12

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 24

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *patoxšāy* .. 3 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *šapəstān* .. 37

𐭥𐭥𐭥 "indemnity" .. 6

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ōš* 5 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvaš* 18

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvašōxvaš* .. 19

𐭥𐭥𐭥 inst. of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 .. 17

𐭥𐭥 *az* 2 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 36

𐭥𐭥𐭥 38

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ast i* 13 note

𐭥𐭥 .. *kē* 13 note

𐭥𐭥 .. *ōē* 13 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 "partly" .. 25 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 "ast ka" it happens that" .. 25 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ākonēn* 4

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ākonēn xvēš* .. 30 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hambāstan* .. 31

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *at* × × × *āk* .. 31 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *at* × × × *ākīh* 31 note

𐭥𐭥 *hač* 5 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *apāyēstan* .. 49

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *apārōn* 38

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āpām* 45

𐭥𐭥 *ā-č*, 𐭥𐭥 *ā-čē* .. 7 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hamxvāstak* .. 30 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āmār* 22 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hamēvēn* 29

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hambāy* 4

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hambāyih* 4, 30 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *hamp* × × .. 30 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bēhēstān* p.n. .. 15 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 — 𐭥𐭥𐭥 .. 46 note, 51 note

𐭥𐭥 *man* 2 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *apāk* 7, 34, 38

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rixt* 14 note

𐭥𐭥 *to* 2 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tō-čō* 7 note

𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tō-ō* 7 note

ژانبūt	žanbūt p. n.	.. 15 note
زېښتان	zēvistan ..	.. 20
زېڼاک	zyānak ..	.. 43
زېڼ inst. of زېڼ	xvāš ..	20

کاتاس	katās ..	.. 33 note
کاتاس	کاتاس ..	.. 40
کاتاس	کاتاس ..	.. 40
مړاک	mērak ..	.. 43
مړ	mih ..	.. 47 note

مړ inst. of مړ	če ..	7 note
مړ	mihryōn p.n.	.. 8 note

دیت	dit ..	.. 51 note
تووان	tūvān ..	.. 6

ت × × × اک	t × × × āk ..	31 note
تارساک	tarsāk ..	.. 31 note

تارساک inst. of تارساک	..	6
تارساک — تارساک	pīhan ..	39

تارساک — تارساک — تارساک	p × × × ..	30, 30 note
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پېشمار	pēšēmār ..	22
پاسمار	pasēmār ..	22

پاشت	pašt 5
پاتوڅښک	pātoxšūh ..	3 note

پاتوڅښک	pātoxšāy ..	3 note
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فرپړ	frapīh 39
ډ — ډ — ډ	..	7 note
ډ	..	7 note

III. NAMES OF LAWYERS.

Farrox Mart 53 note
Fārrox Zurvān 46
Vahrām	..	3, 15, 56
Vēhōhrmazd	..	.. 46
Syāvaš	..	.. 16, 33
Žāmāsp	..	.. 28

IV. TURFAN-PAHLAVI.

GNYN, GNYN	..	4
az "I"	..	2 note
„ from "	..	5 note
DRUST, DRYŠT, DRYST	24	
ZYV° živo "to live"	..	20
HS'GYRD hašāgerd	..	38
XV'BŠ xvēbaš	..	40
man	..	2 note
P'DXŠY pādōxšāy	..	3 note
PVHR puhr PVS pus	..	40
tō	..	2 note

V MIDDLE-SOGHDIAN.

°xwašánt-	..	.. 18 note
XYPΘ xēpað	..	.. 40
PČ' YYSTR paðūyistar	..	3 note

VI. AVESTAN.

aošō	..	.. 5 note
× apno xavō ×	..	.. 37
*afn'gukhā	..	.. 37
arəθna	..	.. 38
asma	..	.. 40
ahmī	..	.. 40
kaini [ōa	..	.. 38 note
ōarūiti —	..	.. 36 note
°čit	..	.. 7 note
da'ghu. mazō —	..	.. 49
drva —	..	.. 24 note
pa'iti. miθnāiti	..	.. 39

<i>opiθwa</i>	..	..	39
<i>puθrō</i>	..	..	40
<i>frapiθwa</i>	-	..	39
<i>fraθnam</i>	..	..	40
<i>niuruzda</i>	-	..	41
<i>nmānō. paθnī</i>	..	..	37
<i>sāsniā</i>	..	..	40
<i>srāyavan</i>	..	..	36 note
<i>haða</i>	..	..	5 note
* <i>hapaθ nī-</i>	..	..	37
× <i>hapsne</i> ×	..	..	32
<i>xvaēpaiθya-</i>	..	..	40

VII. ANCIENT PERSIAN.

<i>ā-yasatū</i>	..	..	49
<i>xšāyaθiya-</i>	3 note
<i>°čiy</i>	7 note

VIII PERSIAN.

آرن <i>āran</i>	38
آمار <i>āmūr</i>	22 note
آوام <i>āvām</i>	49
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OBITUARIES.

The Institute regrets the loss of its two esteemed members, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., and Mr. S. K. Hodivala, B.A., for whom the Executive Committee has, at its sittings of 26th March 1931 and 30th June 1931 respectively, passed the following resolutions :—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sense of grief at the sad demise of their colleague, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., which took place at Feldkirch (Austria) on 8th February 1931 at the age of 56 years. Fr. Zimmermann was invited to join the Executive Committee from 1st August 1925, and, since then, he evinced great interest in the work of the Institute, which culminated in a series of Government Fellowship Lectures, he delivered in the year 1929, as the Government scholar of this Institute. The Executive Committee put on record their appreciation of his deep scholarship in the field of Oriental studies in general and specially in Sanskrit. Fr. Zimmermann's genial disposition and unostentatious fervour for the advancement of Oriental lore won for him a deep esteem in the hearts of his colleagues and pupils alike, and his passing away will be long felt as a great loss in the sphere of Oriental scholarship.”

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of their Joint Honorary Secretary, Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A., who died on 13th June 1931 at the age of 61 years. Mr. Hodivala was invited to join the Executive Committee on the 17th January 1922 and, since then, he took an active interest in the well-being of the Institute. As Government Research scholar for the year 1923, he had delivered a series of six learned lectures on the Indo-Iranian Religion, which were greatly appreciated by Sanskrit and Avestan scholars alike. He was appointed a Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute in April 1930. The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the deceased to the cause of Sanskrit and Avestan Scholarship in general and to this Institute in particular, and express their regret that his premature death has caused the heavy loss of an unostentatious and industrious scholar of great calibre.”

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 19.

EDITED BY

SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

Kt., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D., LL.D.

BOMBAY :

PRINTED AT THE FORT PRINTING PRESS, BOMBAY.

LONDON AGENTS: LUZAC & Co., 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

1931

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A FEW NOTES ON AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE PERSIAN VĪRĀF-NĀMEH, RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE CAMA INSTITUTE.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

An anonymous friend of the K. R. Cama Oriental
Introduction. Institute has kindly presented recently
to the Institute a precious manuscript
of the Persian Ardāi Vīrāf-nāmeh in verse. I had the
pleasure of exhibiting this manuscript at a gathering on
the occasion of the Centenary¹ of the Bombay Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society, when I read before it, on 17th
January 1905, my paper, entitled "A Glimpse into the
Work of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view."
At that time, it was kindly lent to me for being exhibited
by its then owner Mr. Rustamji Dosabhoj Sethna
(Macfarlane).² Since then, it has changed hands. The
best thanks of the Institute are due to the anonymous
donor who has now kindly presented it. He is said to have
purchased it for Rs. 300. I propose giving here a few
notes on the early part of this precious manuscript.

The manuscript bears the following colophon at the
end, on folio marked 58 in Gujarati:—

فرجید بدروود شادی او رامشنی اندر روز آسمان ماه
خورداد سال بر نهصد نود و هفت از شاهنشاه یزدگر شهریار از

1 The Society was founded in November 1804.

2 Born, 29th December 1831 : died, 27th October 1906.

نخمة ساسان خجسته شهر ایران زمین : کاتب الحروف من بنده
 دین به مازدیسنان فقیر الحقیر هیرید زاده هیرید برزو بن
 قوام الدین بن کیقباد بن هرمزبار لقب سنجانات ابن کتاب
 اردای ویراف نویسم در قصبه نوساری دخیل بلاد کجرات هر که
 این کتاب خواناد با آموزاد بر نویسنده آفرین کناد تم

بیت

غریق رحمت یزدان کسی باد
 که کاتب را با الحمد می کند یاد
 نبشته من ندانم تا که خواند منم بیشک بمیرم این بماند
 نبشته سالها ماند ز کاتب نشان کر خاک جوی زونیابی
 خدایا در لطف و رحمت کشای
 برزو ره نیکنامی های

We see from this colophon that the manuscript was written on *roz Asmān mād̄h Khordād*, 997 Yazdezardi (1628 A.C.). So, it is more than three hundred years old. The scribe is Burzo Kamdin, the well-known compiler of the *Rivāyat*, known, by his name, as Burzo Kamdin's *Rivāyat*. It was written in Naosari.

The manuscript is precious for several reasons:—

- (1) It is a beautiful manuscript written with a very value of the clear hand. It is in size $8\frac{7}{10}$ " × 5". It has 17 couplets to a page.

1 Ghariq = drowned. cf. Gujarati ગરજ.

2 With (a prayer saying) al-hamd, i.e., 'Praise be to God.'

(2) It is an old manuscript written more than 300 years ago.

(3) It was written by the well-known scribe Burzo Kamdin, whose Rivâyats,—a Collective Rivâyat and a Classified Rivâyat—are known to us.¹

(4) Its value is enhanced by 57 beautiful illustrations, illustrating the rewards and punishments in Heaven and Hell. The illustrations are described in brief in red ink crosswise on the margins. The paper of that part of the pages which contains the illustrations has begun to crack and so here and there the paintings have lost some parts.

We note one peculiarity in this beautiful copy. When the scribe wanted to reject a couplet as itself faulty, or faultily written, he simply placed two small marks like these || over the couplet. For example:—

Couplet 7 folio 1a.

„ 6 „ 4a.

Some of the paintings draw our special attention. Burzo Kamdin, the scribe, seems to have left it to a Mahomedan or Hindu artist of the time, as to how to design and paint the illustrations. Probably this was left to a Mahomedan artist. This appears from the very first painting.

The very first painting, which draws our attention for the above reason, is described in The first painting. red ink in the margin as

بست کردن اردای ویراف بدرگاه آتش و هرام اباشش دستور دیگر

i.e., The Recital of the Patet² (Repentance prayer) by Ardai Viraf with six other priests in the Court (dar-gâh)

1 Vide my Introduction to the Edition of the Rivâyat of Darâb Hormazyâr by the late Ervad Manockji R Unwalla.

2 آتش و هرام اباشش دستور دیگر

of Atash Varharam (Atash Behram). This painting presents several features for consideration:—

- (a) The building, with three domes at the top, is not at all like our modern Indian Fire-temple.
- (b) The Fire-vase is not at all like the Fire-vases of our Fire-temple.
- (c) The trousers and dress are more like those of the Mahomedans than those of the Parsees.

There is no uniformity of dress among the seven priests, who say their *patet* before the sacred fire, like that which one may expect from what he sees in a Bombay gathering of priests, who are all uniformly dressed in white Jama-pichodi,¹ i.e., a kind of loose dress with a girdle or band round the waist. It is only one priest standing before the Fire, who is dressed in white.² Perhaps the artist may be a Mahomedan, fresh arrived from Persia, and he had before his eyes the picture of a Parsi priest in Persia. The ends of the *pichodi* also are left hanging in the painting and not put into the fold as seen here.

1 Jâmâ is Pers. جامه = robe, gown. Pichodi पिछोड़ी (girdle) may be from Pers. پیچیدن = to twist (round), or from Gujarati પીછા = to hang upon.

2 Probably, the artist may have been a Mahomedan from Persia. I had the pleasure of attending, in Persia, more than one gathering, where Zoroastrian priests assembled for prayers. They all were dressed variously. The colour of their gowns and their head-dresses differed. When I inquired of the priest, who attended upon the fire of the new Fire-temple at Tehran, why he did not put on white gown and dress, he said that that was not considered proper in a Mahomedan country like Persia where he had to move among Mahomedans. However, he was corrected by Arbab Kaikhusru, who had kindly accompanied me, saying, that those times were gone, and that now, in the time of H. E. Riza Khan (he had not become the Shah as yet in November 1925), they had the liberty of putting on any dress they liked.

In modern practice, when priests assemble round a fire to say their Atash Nyaish, one of them, the Atar-vakhshi, who stands before the Fire-vase, touches the vase with a chamach,¹ i.e., ladle, at the time of reciting particular portions of the Nyaish. This indicates a kind of spiritual association with the sacred fire. The priests, who stand immediately next to him create a contact with him, either by touching his body with their hands, or by holding the skirt of his Jamâ (جامه = the upper loose garb). Then, those, who are next to them, do the same. Thus, the members of the whole congregation come into physical contact with one another, and, through this contact, with the sacred fire. We see this custom of the ritual illustrated in this first painting, wherein a part of the skirt of the upper dress of the priest who stands immediately before the first is connected with a part of the dress of another priest standing behind him.

The second painting. The seven sisters of Viraf.

The second painting is thus noted in the margin:—

آمدن هفت خواهر اردای ویراف بدرگاه پادشاه اردشیرزاری کنان
و گریان از بهر اردای ویراف

i.e., The coming of the seven sisters of Ardai Viraf to the Court of King Ardeshir, crying and weeping for Ardai Viraf.

Their features point them to be more Mogul girls than Persian girls.

There is one thing particular in the above heading and even in the text. The seven women are all along spoken of as sisters (خواهر), and not as wives also, as implied from the use of the word *nishman* (نیشمن) in the

1 Pers. چاقو chamcheh, a spoon, a ladle.

Pahlavi. Virāf-nāmeḥ. This omission tends to show, that in the original Pahlavi also, the word *nishman* was not meant in the literal sense and signification of the word 'wife'. What seems to be meant in the Virāf-nāmeḥ was, that the seven sisters looked to him, both as brother and husband, for maintenance, support and relationship. We know that there was an old custom among some ancient nations, that, for the security of the throne, and to avoid any differences and jealousies, the male successors to the throne were married nominally to the sisters, and the female successors to their brothers. For example, we find this custom in Egypt. Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, married her brother, a young child. It was with this view of security, that conquerors often married the daughters of the kings whom they conquered, e.g., Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Darius.

The third painting presents the picture of a cup of wine that is being presented to Ardaī Viraf. The Pahlavi text speaks of the drink as *𐭥𐭭 mang* which is Persian *منگ* "rhubarb, the henbane plant"¹ which is known among us as "रेवयिनी; रेवयान".²

Dr. Haug thus explains the word: "A narcotic, henbane (*Hyoscyamusniger*) 'the seed of which, imported from Cabul, or Persia, is sold in Bombay as *Khorasani*' *Ywani* (see Dalzell and Gilson's Supplement to the Bombay Flora, 1861, page 62), Pers. *منگ*".³ Haug, while quoting Dastur Hoshung Jamasp, thus refers to this matter in the Introduction:—"After all preparations for the great journey, had been made by washing his hands, putting on new clothes, etc., Viraf drank three cups filled with a narcotic called *mang* (banga in Zend), and fell asleep on the carpet on which he

1 Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

2 Motiram's English-Gujarati Dictionary.

3 Glossary of Ardaī Viraf, page 220.

was sitting. Dastur Hoshangji makes the following remarks on this drought: 'The administrators of these doses of *mang* mixed up with wine, causing a supernatural sleep of seven days' duration, reminds one of the custom of *Dhatturas*, or stramonium eating in India, which is well known in this country, particularly in Gujarat. It is believed then that when on week-day, particularly on Saturday which is sacred to Hanuman, a few seeds of *Dhattura* are given to a child about seven years of age (it being then considered innocent), he or also she will, if asked, prophesy all future events through its effect and will even prescribe remedies for any difficulty".¹ Haug then quotes Hoshangji, who refers to a miracle of Zoroaster giving consecrated wine to King Gustasp, whereby Gustasp fell asleep for three days and saw the vision of his own paradise.² This matter of giving the *mang* for drink to Arda Viraf is referred to four times in the Virāf-nāmeḥ (Chapter I, 38; II, 93, 29 and 31). In the passage of the first reference, it is spoken of alone and Viraf speaks of it as "undesirable *mang*" (akameh-humand mang). In the other three references, the administering of the *mang* is spoken of as accompanied with *âs* (اس). This *âs* is Semitic for Pazend *maê* (Per. می), "wine".

Now in this Persian Virāf-nāmeḥ, we find no mention of *mang* or any narcotic. We find simply wine (*mae* می and *bādah* باد). Again the wine is said to have been consecrated *ز اول کار جام می یشتند*.³ Again, the wine was drunk three times; at first, with the idea of good thoughts, then with that of good words and, lastly, with that of good deeds. So, I beg to suggest, that the word *mang* is not the Indian *mang*, but a Persian plant. Possibly, the word may have been miswritten for *maê*, wine.

1 Hoshangji's and Haug's Virāf-nāmeḥ, Introduction, p. LX.

2 Ibid.

3 See Arda Virāf-nāmeḥ by Dastur Kaikhusru Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, p. 3, last line.

The picture (f. 6a), wherein, no sooner Ardai Viraf awoke from the trance, the six Dasturs who observed a watch over him, present food before him, and all that is said in the text—both Pahlavi and Persian—show the importance attached to food and to physical comforts. No sooner does Viraf awake, before giving an account of his vision, he wants food, feeling hungry for having remained hungry for full seven days. During the state of trance also, there continued to be wastage which required reparation. In Zoroastrian writings, the health of body is first thought of and then that of mind.

The picture of the Kerdâr or good life of a pious soul, in the form of a maiden, draws our special attention. The maiden is stark naked, though the departed soul of the person approaching her is clad, as it were, in full apparel. This picture, and what is said of that maiden in the text, is as it were, a fitting commentary upon, the general view associated with the preparations of a *siâv* or a suit of clothes, consecrated on the third night after death and on other subsequent occasions. The original idea is that of the presentation of food and clothing and utensils to the poor and the needy, as charity, in honour of the dead. The *siâv* is very properly spoken of in our later books as *Jâmeh-i Ashodâd*, i.e., the clothing to be presented in charity to the righteous. That original idea is lost sight of, and people associate the custom with a mistaken belief that the suit of clothes is necessary for the departed soul, which, in this painting, is represented to be naked.

This picture presents to us the balance in which the deeds are weighed by the presiding judge Meher, who carefully looks at the balance. The person standing behind is Rashna, holding a pen in one hand and paper in the

other to register the exact weight of deeds. Then, the picture of a young man, sitting with his finger before his face, draws our special attention. It is like that which we see in some of our Iranian sculptures.¹

The picture of Viraf's appearance before God is interesting. God is invisible, so the artist
The Seat of God, has represented merely his empty throne.

The Heavens or Paradises are said to be three, each rising in grade. They are the paradises (1) of
The pictures of the three Heavens. the star-track, (2) the moon-track, and (3) the sun-track (*Seter-pâyeḥ*, *Mâh-pâyeḥ* and *Khorshed-pâyeḥ*). They are represented by pictures of stars, the moon and the sun. The stars, though they are the most-heavenly, *i.e.*, situated in the highest heaven, higher than the moon and the sun, are in ordinary appearance smaller and less brilliant than the moon, which, in its turn, is less brilliant than the sun. So, the grades of heaven, as represented by these heavenly bodies, are in the order of their visible brilliance and not of their distance from the earth.

The picture on folio 28 is that of two sons on whose death there was too much of lamentation
The picture of the much lamented souls. by the survivors. The picture is distressing. The picture sets us athinking, that why should the souls of those, after whom there was too much of lamentation, be thrown in such a distress, through the fault of the survivors who lamented much after them. I think, that this may be explained by what is said in the Vendidad. There, it is said, that there may be more mourning and lamentation for the wicked than for the virtuous. This may seem strange and paradoxical because

1 *Vide* my paper on "Some Prayer-gestures of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Their parallels among the ancient Iranians and modern Parsees" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. of 1920. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part III, p. 188-89. *Vide* my paper on "Tibetan Salutations" in the Sir J. J. Z. Madressa Jubilee Volume edited by me.

it is the loss of the virtuous that should be felt more than that of the wicked. But, the idea at the bottom seems to be that those, who had led an honest virtuous life, have all gone to the happy abode of the blissful; so, there must be no sorrow, no regret, no mourning, for their death. But, in the case of those who had led a bad life in this world, the surviving relatives and friends have reason to be sorry that they would be punished in the next world. So, the amount of grief for the dead should be in a proportion, inverse to the amount of their virtues. The more the dead were virtuous, the less the fear of their being punished, and so the less the grief.

As said by me in my Introduction to the late Ervad
 The scribe, Barzo Manockji Rustamji Unwala's edition of
 Kamdin. Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyat (pp. 4-5),
 there are two kinds of Rivāyats—the

Collective Rivāyats and the Classified Rivāyats. Barzo Kamdin was a scribe who wrote both these kinds of Rivāyats. I have described in my above Introduction (pp. 5-13) his Collective Rivāyats at some length. It has three colophons which give dates as follows:—

1. Roz 29-3-1006 (4-1-1637 A.D.)
2. „ 14-5-1006 (18-2-1637 A.D.)
3. „ 22-10-1006 (26-6-1637 A.D.)

A rare manuscript of this kind of his Collective Rivāyats belongs to Ervad Mahyār Nowroji Kutar. It is a volume $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \times 1$ inches in size and has 311 folios with folios 41-209 missing.

I will collect here a few dates about the life and work of the scribe Barzo Kamdin:—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 14th October 1626 | . His name mentioned in the |
| (Roz 4, Mah 1, | Rivāyat of Bahman Aspañ- |
| Kadmi 996.) | dyar. |
| 13th August 1627 | ... His name found in a letter |
| (Roz 9, Mah 11, | brought to India from Per- |
| Kadmi 996.) | sia by Bahman Aspandiyar. |

- 5th January 1628 ... Wrote the manuscript of Ardai
(*Roz 27, Mah 3, 997 A.Y.*) Viraf-nameh in Persian.
- 1630 ... Date of his Collective Rivāyat.
- 4th January 1637 ... The date of the first colophon
(*Roz 29, Mah 3, 1006.*) of his Collective Rivāyat Ms.
belonging to Ervad Mahiyar
Kutar.
- 18th February 1637 ... Date of the second colophon
(*Roz 14, Mah 5, 1006.*) of the above.
- 26th July 1637 ... Date of the third colophon of
(*Roz 22, Mah 11, 1006.*) the above.
- 23rd November 1649 ... A letter addressed to him by
(*Roz 20, Mah 2,* the Dasturs of Persia and
Kadmi 1019.) sent through Rustam Jandal.
- 19th July 1670 ... He is addressed first in the
(*Roz 23, Mah 10,* Rivāyat from Persia brought
Kadmi 1039.) by Rustom Khorshed As-
pandiyar.
- 1671 ... Death.

Barzo Kamdin's His Collective Rivāyat has three
Colophons. colophons. The first runs as follows:—

کاتب الحروف من بنده دین به مزدیستان دستور برزو
بن قوام الدین بن کیقباد بن هرمزیار لقب سنجانان پرستار آتش
ورهرام ساکن قصبه نوساری داخل بلاد کجرات از ملک
هندوستان با رفیع القدر الکان و نوشته شد بروز مهرسفند ماه
خورداد سال اول هزار شش از شاهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار

Translation:—Writer of these writings, I, servant of
the good Mazdayasnān religion, Dastur Barzo, son of
Qavāmu-d-din, son of Kaikōbad, son of Hormazyār, sur-
named Sanjānā; a worshipper of the Ātash-Behram, inhabit-
ant of the town of Naosari included in the cities of
Gujarat in the country of Hindustan, containing many

noble buildings. Written on *roz* Mahresfand, *mah* Khordad, year 1006 of Emperor Yazdagar Shehryar.

Barzo Kamdin gives his own pedigree in his own hand in his above Collective Rivâyat. It runs as follows:—

Barzo — Kamdin — Kaikobâd — Hormazyâr.

In two of his colophons of this Rivâyat he speaks of himself as Dastur and in third or the last as Herbadzâdeh.

From the pedigree given here and from the pedigree of his grand nephew, Darab Hormazyâr and other relatives, a table can well be prepared.¹ I give below a table of his pedigree connecting him with Darab Hormazyâr and other distinguished relatives.

Nâgan Râm (one of the three priests who carried the sacred Fire of Iran Shâh after² the sack of Sanjan to Naosari).

Narsang

Kama

Padam

Hamajyâr (his name appears in a document of 1543 A.D. *Parsee Prakash* I, p. 8.)

Kaikobad (his name appears in Kaus Mâhyâr's Rivâyat of 1601. *Ibid.* p. 839).

Kamdin (Bahman Aspandiyar's Rivâyat of 1626, *Ibid.* p. 11).

Bahman

Ekji

Framarz

Burjo

Hormuzyâr

Darab

1 I give it here as given in my book "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," page 7.

2 *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's article "Jadî Rana and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan." *Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XXIII, pp. 349-370.

ON WINE AND FEASTS IN THE IRANIAN NATIONAL EPIC

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF

F. ROSENBERG

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

In fairy-tales, legends and popular epics, wine and intoxicating beverages in general occupy, as we know, a very prominent place. All works of that kind of popular creative mind are, without any doubt, reflections of the life and lore of a given people independently of the fact whether their recension belongs to an anonymous collective¹ or, as is the case with the Persian national epic, to an individual historical personality. The prominent rôle of wine in the life of nations is not an accidental phenomenon; it is not a symptom of the licentiousness or of the depravation of a certain people, but a phenomenon, the explanation of which should be sought in the domain of human psychology in general. There were not, there are not and there cannot be such physical, climatical, economical or political conditions which could have answered the ideas of a life of perfection for which, consciously or unconsciously, every man, every people, who are not merely vegetating but are living a real life, are yearning. The combination of means and ways chosen by a certain people, according to their natural qualities and abilities, in order to attain superior forms of life, represents something which we call its culture. But these ways are full of obstacles

¹ The theory of the so-called "collective creation" has been abandoned by modern investigators, v. Oldenburg, *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, new series LXIV (1916, No. 8), section 2, p. 303.

and disappointments, and therefore one needs to be abstracted from the realities of life, to be encouraged to indulge in illusions, to forget oneself. The most accessible and the least harmful of the multiform expedients for the satisfaction of that yearning was discovered by mankind, when still at the dawn of its conscious life, in the action of intoxicating beverages. Those beverages served in the form of *soma* (*haoma*), nectar, mead, wine, etc., among the peoples who are responsible for the creation of our culture, especially among those belonging to the Indo-European group, as a means to attain physical and mental strength¹, health, longevity, nay even immortality and union with the divinity. In India *fire* and *soma* were considered as the greatest gifts of the gods to mankind and, *vice versa*, the most becoming of offerings from men to the gods. The meaning of wine, both in its real and symbolical sense, is well known in most of heathen religions, more especially in mysteries, as well as in the Judæo-Christian cult and in Muslim esoterism. Coming into existence, according to popular traditions, simultaneously with the first manifestations of civilisation (Dionysus-Bacchus; Noah; Hūshang) the use of stimulating or benumbing drugs favourable to illusions accompanies peoples all along the stages of their further cultural development². Yet, the dreams of a hap-

1 Σιτρον και οἶνοιο το γαρ μενος ἐστι και ἄλλη (Iliad, IX 706; XIX, 161). The expression *aqua vitae*—*eau de vie*, which has since received a profane sense, has a deep spiritual meaning.

2 Regarding the antiquity of the art of making wine and the use of intoxicating beverages, cf., for instance, Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustihere* (Berlin, 1870), pp. 21 foll.; O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena, 1883), pp. 376 foll. On their importance in religious ceremonies, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out, from the very extensive literature on the subject, merely: Söderblom, *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Etudes IX, Paris 1901), more parti-

pier life on earth do not materialize, the ideal remains inaccessible and, owing to its inaccessibility, assumes a dim outline of a golden age, of a life after death, of pantheons, inhabited by anthropomorphic gods. But the idea of such blissful life is connected in the conception of mankind to such a degree with intoxicating beverages, that even there one cannot do without wine. In Hesiod men of the golden age pass their leisure invariably in merry feasts, even the inhabitants of the Muslim paradise are enjoying the liquor¹, prohibited during their terrestrial life. and even the immortal gods themselves are luxuriously feasting and drinking assiduously.

In their ways of inventing drugs for the satisfaction of their instincts peoples are quite ingenious. It should seem that the whole gamut would have been passed beginning with the "golden" mead or the fragrant "juice of the vine" and ending with "fire-water" or a second infusion of the intoxicant already used as practised in the far North-East; but a long string of succedanea of the newest formation came to prove that a great many possi-

cularly pp. 330 foll.; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altert.* I, 2 (2nd edition, 1909), more especially pp. 810 foll. and 826 foll.; Zimmern, *Lebensbrot u. Lebenswasser* (*Archiv f. Religionswiss.* II), pp. 172 foll.; more especially, T i a n d e r, *Ceremonial intoxication and the oldest alcoholic beverage known to mankind* (*Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, new series XVIII, [1908, 12], sect. 2, pp. 203-257).

1 G r ü n b a u m (*Neue Beitr. z. semit. Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, p. 64) quotes from T a b a r i and I b n - a l - A t h i r a legend, according to which Eve, before inducing Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, gives him wine to drink. The above-mentioned Arab authors repudiate that theory on the authority of the XXXVII chapter of the Qur'ān, where it is mentioned in verse 46 that the wine of paradise is "a liquid.....which causes no headache, from which one does not get drunk". According to the *Midrashim* (G r ü n b a u m, *ibid.*) the forbidden fruit was nothing but the grape.

lities have still remained latent in this domain.

The individual and social organisms of different peoples are, without any doubt, influenced, besides climatic-political and other conditions, by the kind and quantities of beverages used or abused of¹; more than that, these beverages must be considered as one of the indicators of the cultural level of a certain people. The feasts of the Greeks of Homer are quite unlike the wild revels of Northern peoples, far different from the chaste knights of King Arthur's table are the heroes of the circle of Vladimir, the Red Sun, and how different, in spite of their indubitable relation, are the Persian—Rustam and the Russian Ilya Murometz.

The extremely ancient epic material of the Persian popular traditions was collected under the Sasanian dynasty (226-651 A.D.) in the "Book of the Lords" the "Khvatay Nāmak" composed in Pahlavī, *i.e.* in Middle-Persian language. Translated in the middle of the 8th century into Arabic, these traditions came down to us, besides many abstracts in Arabic authors, as one of the most brilliant national epics of all times and peoples, namely in the Modern-Persian "Book of Kings" the "Shāhnāma". Its author, Abul Qāsim Firdawsī completed his gigantic work, comprising about 60,000 rhymed distichs, in 1010 A.D. The epic embraces all the history of the Persian people from the most ancient mythical period up to the Arab invasion, the resulting fall of the Sasanian dynasty and the death of

1 That is what ought to be taken into consideration in our country instead of trying to imitate the experiment of the emperor Domitianus (Svetonius, Domit. VII). We deemed it worth while to mention the above-quoted truths as against the ignorant and hypocritical ravings of the modern prohibitionists.

its last representative Yazdigird III (651 A.D.).

By the special investigators of the "Shāhnāma" it is established as a fact that Firdawsī was extremely scrupulous as regards the material which reached him, preferring to put side by side two different versions of the same episode rather than make alterations in them or unify them for the sake of literary arrangement.¹

As regards feasts and table-customs, the so often encountered descriptions of which are of an astonishing similarity, whether they refer to the mythical antiquity of the time of Hūshang and Farīdūn or to the fully historical period of the later Sasanids, which can be considered as an epoch comparatively close to the time of Firdawsī himself, one has to suppose that our poet strictly followed in that respect himself those laudable practices, or else,—and that is more probable,—he completed deficiencies in the details of his sources in the spirit of his time which must have been, it would seem, taking into consideration the general stability of customs in the East, very much akin to the manners of the Sasanian period, but hardly could have entirely corresponded to the customs of the more ancient times.

But not only the mythical Farīdūn and the Sasanid Khosrow Parvīz are feasting in the "Shāhnāma" almost in a similar way, but also the feasts of the kings of Tūrān, of the Khāqān of China, of the Qaysar of Rūm (Byzantium) or of the queen of Andalusia little differ one from the other. It is sometimes impossible not to be amazed both by the confused ideas regarding foreign peoples and by the anachronisms which abound in the "Shāhnāma", although, certainly, one must not demand from a Persian of

¹ See, for instance, Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, trad. (the small edition), vol. I, Préface p. LV; vol. VI, p. V; Nöldke, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, pp. 168 foll.

also the custom attributed to Greek envoys of abstracting valuable goblets after drinking the wine served in them.

considered, thanks to the preposterous Banzarov supported by Schott, as solved negatively with regard to the so-called "French", i.e. Indo-Iranian, theory, and in favour of the Tungusic origin of our word. Prof. Pelliot (JAs. XI sér. t. 1 [1913] pp. 466 foll.), however, considers it to remain still an open question and shows that the question as to the origin and the history of the Tungusic word has not yet been solved. The Ju-chen word *chan-man* (= *saman*) meaning "a witch", discovered by him in a Chinese text, belongs to the beginning of the XII century A.D. In the absence of any concrete connecting link, it seems hardly probable that the Tunguses should have borrowed from the far-away Indo-Iran one of their special cult-terms (amongst Turks *qam*, amongst Mongols *bögä*, although the word *šaman* is also encountered); not more probable is, naturally, also the idea of a casual consonance of two words which have nothing in common, although their meaning, if not identical, happens to be very much the same.

The discoveries of the three last decades were apt to dispel to a considerable degree the darkness pervading the domain of cultural inter-relations of the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times. The materials found by Sir A. Stein, P. Pelliot, the collections of German and Russian expeditions, and in particular the investigations pursued by F. W. K. Müller, R. Gauthiot and C. Salemann of the Russian Academy of Sciences, brought to life again the tongue of an Iranian people, the very name of which has been lost for many centuries, and which is nowadays conditionally called *Soghdian*. That people once exercised a tremendous civilizing and cultural influence all over Central Asia up to the confines of China. The Soghdian documents discovered up till now belong to the first millennium of our era. It seems to us that in our question regarding the word *shaman* it would be worth our while to have recourse to the Soghdians who might prove to be that connecting link between the West and the Far East, the absence of which up to the latest times we had just occasion to mention. In Soghdian the word ŠMN (*šaman*) happens to be a thoroughly regular equivalent of Sanskrit *ṣramaṇa*. In Buddhist-Soghdian texts these "*shamans*" are constantly mentioned along with *upāsakas* and *brahmanas*, as constituting a part of Buddha's retinue, whereat *shamans* are always mentioned in the first place. An unpublished fragment brought by S. F. Olden-

Thus, for instance, 'Alexander of Macedonia, who appears himself as his own envoy at the court of Dārā, provokes the mirth of the king of kings by such behaviour¹.

burg of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1915 contains an abstract noun Š M N Y " K (H) (*šamanyak*) derived from š m n (more directly from the adjective Š M N Y) in the meaning of "the dignity of a shaman," as a title conferred by Buddha on some of his followers in the same way as the degree of an *arhat* etc. The Soghdians wielded an extraordinary supremacy all over Central Asia both in the cultural, and in the political sense of the word, which is irrefutably proved by the presence of Soghdian, along with Uiguric and Chinese, in the trilingual inscription of Q a r a B a l g h a s u n (IX century). That wide spread of the Soghdian language makes it sufficiently possible that, on the one hand, the Soghdian term denoting an ascetic, a person having communion with God, had found its way to the Far East. On the other hand, that term might have been borrowed by some of the peoples of those parts (maybe, through the instrumentality of Chinese syncretism) in order to denote their own native mediators between man and the unknown powers of the great beyond.

Both in the Christian-Soghdian dialect and in Turfan-Pahlavi the same word was used in the meaning of "devil"; amongst Mongols and Uigurs the word *šmnu*, *šimnu*, *šumnu*, meant "a demon" (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [1908], p. 58; Salemann, *Manichæica V*, Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1913, p. 1129). Very interesting light is thrown on the relation between Buddhism and Shamanism by a decree of the Uigur Khāqān in Chavannes et Pelliot's *Un traité Manichéen* etc. JAs. XI série, t. 1 (1913), pp. 193 foll. and note 2. Father Hyacinth ("China", p. 230) says: "The fact that the first *ongots* to whom prayers are addressed at the morning sacrifice are Shoghiamoni, Boddhisattva and Huang-di, seems to point to a connection with Buddhism". That refers naturally to recent times, but we must not forget that the universally accepted religious terms "shaman" and "shamanism" are also not very old, certainly not older than the conquest of Siberia by the Russians. D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris 1776-78, does not contain these words; one is induced to conclude here *ex silentio* that these words were not yet current at that time in Western Europe.

1 C. 1271.

Although the notions of the "Shāhnāma" with regard to the lore of the peoples living in the vicinity of Persia are extremely confused often altogether unsound¹, yet no racial or religious antagonism is felt in them. The Iranians do not show any aversion to eating, drinking and inter-marrying with any of the neighbouring peoples. Only once, if I am not mistaken, there arises a doubt on a religious ground: the king of Kābul Mihrāb asks Zāl, the prince of Zābul (of Seistan), to come to his palace, where a feast is arranged in his honour. The other refuses, saying: "this is not possible, thy house is not a place for me. Neither Sām, nor the king would be pleased to hear that we are drinking and getting drunk and frequenting a house of idol-worshippers (بیت پرست)"². That episode, however, does not prevent Zāl from marrying, in course of time, a daughter of the same Mihrāb.

The information in classical authors regarding the customs of ancient Persians is very contradictory. Herodotus himself who praises their moderation in food and drink, mentions in another passage the passion of Persians for wine. Cyrus Junior and Darius I are boasting of their ability to drink much. But it seems that the king did not drink to surfeit except during the Mithra-festival. Rapp, taking stand on the Graeco-Roman information collected by himself, makes the conclusion that the ancient Persians, even though they used to drink a great deal, avoided being intoxicated, intoxication, it should seem, being liable to punishment amongst them³.

1 With regard to Firdawsi's attitude towards Christianity cf. Nöldcke, op. cit., p. 162. Interesting is the exposition of the religion of the Indians as given by the wise Kharrād, c. 1923, Mohl's translation (small edition), VII, 103 foll.

2 151, 406 foll.; see footnote 4 on page 6.

3 See Rapp, ZDMG, vol. XX, 1896, p. 102.

Although mention of wine occurs in the Avesta, intoxication with the sacred beverage prepared from the plant *haoma* (Ind. *soma*) is chiefly commanded. In the Yasht specially devoted to that plant it is said: "the slightest draught of the *haoma* is sufficient to kill a thousand demons,¹ all the evil caused by demons will disappear immediately from a house where a man makes an offering of the *haoma*, where he praises the healer—*haoma*. Health and healing will appear in his settlement and in his house. "All other intoxications² are connected with *Aeshma* (the wicked demon), the intoxication with the *haoma* is light". Further the *haoma* is called "that which makes a poor man feel as powerful as a rich one".³ In the Vendīdād it is said about the demon *Kunda* that he is "drunken without drinking"⁴. Wine is mentioned also in Vd. 14, 17.⁵

In later Mazdayasnian literature for the juice of the *haoma* (*parahom*) or the narcotic *bang* (probably a kind of *hashish*), which produces the wonderful visions of holy men, wine is sometimes substituted. Thus, for instance, king Gushtāsp attains higher wisdom after having drunk of the wine sanctified by Zoroaster himself during the offering of *darūn* (Aw. *draona*)⁶; and before Zoroaster himself all the mysteries of the world are unveiled after Ahura-Mazda gives him to drink a drop of mead.⁷

1 Hōm Yt. Ysn. 10, 6.7.8.

2 See Darmesteter, Le Zendavesta I, p. 100 and note 22.

3 Hōm Yt. 10, 13.

4 Vd. 19, 41.

5 See also Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterbuch, pp. 1113, 1114, 1116.

6 See my edition of the Z a r ā t u s h t N ā m a (St. Petersburg, 1904), text pp. 1165 foll., translation p. 59 and the notes.

7 *Ibid.*, text p. 1286, translation p. 65. The Persian text has got خور which means both "to eat" and "to drink", but the context (نظم) shows that it is rather a beverage that is meant, i.e. "mead", not "honey", therefore on p. 65 line 11 instead of "manges-en une parcellle" it is to be read "bois-en une goutte".

Wine in the *Shāhnāma* is called *می* or *نید* or *باد* or simply *شراب*; there also occurs *مل* and *بکماز*¹. Although in the dictionaries a distinction is made between these names, the word *نید* being explained as the name of a kind of wine prepared from dry raisins or dates², we think that these names were used by Firdawsī indiscriminately and their use only depended upon the demands of verse and rhyme and designated generally the wine of vine. One can presume that in the pre-Islamic period in Persia as in Turkestan wine was made on a far wider scale than later, in the Islamic period.³

The date-wine offered to Khosrow Parvīz in a Christian monastery⁴ where he finds shelter when tracked by

1 189, 1083; 1061, 214; 1649, 2687. Neither in the *Shāhnāma* nor in Turner-Macan's supplement (*Garshāsp-nāma* etc.) can be found the verse quoted in the *په‌ار عجم* s.v. *بکماز*:

یکی بزم سام آگهی ساز کرد * سه روز اندران بزم بکماز کرد

We were also unable to trace the verse quoted in 'Abdulqādirī Bagdādensis Lexicon *Shahnamianum*, ed. Salemann (Petropoli 1895) p. 31 under No. 313. *Begmāz* in the *Shāhnāma* means both "wine" and "feast"; the word is obviously a Turkish one, see Radloff, Dictionary, s.v. *pākmāz* and *bākmāz*.

2 See also Ibn Khaldoun, *Prolegomènes hist. trad. Slane* (Not. et Extr. t. XIX, 1, p. 35 note) "...le jus fermenté de toutes les espèces de fruits. Le moût de raisin ou de dattes réduit par la cuisson à la moitié de son volume primitif formait selon les docteurs hanéfites une boisson légale".

3 cf. Tomaschek, *Centralasiat. Studien*, I, p. 133; Korzinskij, *Ampelography of Crimea*, part I, p. 12 (published by the Russian Bureau of Applied Botany, edit. by R. E. Regel, St. Petersburg, 1910); Barthold, *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1916, pp. 823 foll. It is not clear on what are based the words of Rapp (l.c.): "...während in Persien grossentheils kein Wein wuchs".

4 *یزدان سزای* (sic) C. 1893, 9.

Bahrām Chūbīn is called first *می از خرما* and then in the following verses *بادۀ سرخ* and *می* simply *نید*.¹ Once (besides the satire) is mentioned "*fuqā*" (*فقا*)² which according to the dictionaries is a beverage much the same as beer and is made of corn *غله*. *Fuqā** with ice and spices is served to Bahram Gūr in the morning after a night revel.

Red wine for preference is partaken of described as ruby-coloured³, colour of the cornaline of Yemen,⁴ as similar to amber (*یجاد*) in sunlight⁵, as outshining the sun⁶, or rosy-cheeked like the beloved⁷, clear and fragrant like rose-water⁸ or similar to yellow gold⁹. Rustam, a great lover of wine, prefers the red wine of Zābul, his mother-country.¹⁰ Sometimes wine is diluted with rose-water or it is mixed with musk and amber¹¹. Old wine of course, is especially valued (*سالمورد - کهن*); it restores one's strength¹², old men become younger from it¹³, the cheeks of the king and the courtiers are blossoming up like roses¹⁴. The wine of kings is also mentioned (*بادۀ خسروی - شاهوار*) which seems to be very strong, as it has to be diluted with water, which, however, provokes Rustam's indignation¹⁵. In the same passage of M o h l's text boiled *بخند* and raw *خام* wine are compared and the latter is considered, as it seems, to be stronger¹⁶. "Unboiled" wine is also partaken of by Isfandiyār in order to allay his anger and to forget his wrongs¹⁷. Goblets and drinking-cups, according to the

1 *Ibid.* vv. 18, 20, 21, 22. 2 C. 1527. 3 C. 1428; C. 1457; C. 2010 etc. 4 1068, 51. 5 1893, 19. 6 *Ibid.* v. 20.

7 M o h l, V, 658, v. 1290; C. 1535 reads *میکساری* = *drunkard*, *cup-bearer*. 8 1074, 162; C. 1906. 9 C. 1551. 10 421, 612 and 620. 11 216, 1658. 12 1078, 229. 13 1444, 3187.

14 1644, 2591. 15 1677, 3190 foll. 16 See p. 381, note 3; M o h l's translation (small edit. IV, 504 foll.) gives the impression of a certain inconsistency. 17 1633, note 1.

means, are made of gold studded with pearls, more often of crystal (بلور). Kay Khosrow drinks in a goblet made of a ruby¹ (یاقوت). A goblet fell once into the hands of Khosrow Parvīz bearing the name of his enemy Bahrām Chūbin engraved on it which nearly led to the destruction of the city of Ray². The poor drink in whatever vessels they have to hand; an old woman, entertaining the defeated and pursued Bahrām Chūbin, serves him wine in an old pumpkin³.

Feasts are divided into two separate acts. The first is devoted to eating, the second to drinking "When the bread has been eaten, one ought to take the drinking-cup"⁴. During the feasts in palaces, in the presence of a king, honoured guests are invited to the king's table; the food is served in dishes of gold; beautiful young boys, adorned with jewels, are waiting at table. After the repast is finished the guests pass to another apartment, where tables are placed around the throne; cup-bearers with faces of *paris* serve wine in goblets adorned with fragrant roses, they burn incense, they spill musk and saffron; sound of luths and flutes, and of gay songs are filling the air. When the weather is favourable feasts are held in gardens among flowers, when bonfires⁵ are sometimes lighted. Music and singing are the necessary attributes of a feast: "all were drinking to the sound of music, or were joyfully singing songs"⁶. In another case, at night, women are dancing to the sound of music "so that the king's soul should not be clouded"⁷.

Feasting and singing is going on chiefly, but not exclusively, by night. The wise Khosrow Parvīz divides all his daily duties in four sections. The first is devoted to

1 1067, 46. 2 C. 1986. 3 C. 1943. 4 C. 1524.
5 1615, 2103; C. 1505. 6 229, 1780. 7 C. 1540, at the end.

state affairs, the second—to pleasures, to music and to friendly conversation with the grantees, the third—to prayer, the first half of the fourth—to the observation of the sky and to philosophy, the other half—to the drinking of wine in the company of beautiful women.¹ Not only the men are feasting, the noble women are feasting as well. Maniẓa, when entertaining in her tent her lover Biẓan, drinks with him for three days and nights, until weariness and drunkenness overcome them both.² Bahrām Gūr, while hunting, comes by chance to a certain village in the heat of a winter-feast. Apart from the men, the young girls are banqueting, amongst them four beauties, daughters of a miller, with wreaths on their heads, with flowers in their hands in a setting of music, singing and blazing bonfires. The long and short of it is that Bahrām marries all the four of them.³ The daughter of the Khā-qān of China, during a picnic with her maids, when partaking of wine served around by her cup-bearers, perishes torn to pieces by the lion Kapi ultimately killed by Bahrām Chūbīn⁴. Not only music of the lighter kind is heard during the feasts. Often there appear bards and storytellers (چامه گو—سرائنده—رامشکر) who record in their songs the great deeds of heroes or heroes themselves narrate their exploits. Listening to a demon-singer, who sings the praises of Māzandarān, the self-conceited Kai Kāus decides under the influence of wine to undertake a campaign against that country of Dīvs.⁵ In the heat of a revel king Gushtāsp asks Isfandiyār to narrate his exploits. The later answers : “do not ask me to do it during the feast... tomorrow, when you will be sober (بهشیاری) I will tell you everything”.⁶ King Balash is feasting, but on account of the death of Pīrūz there is no joy; all the singers cele-

1 C. 1990.

2 1078, 229 foll.

3 C. 1505 foll.

4 C. 1956.

5 316, 16 foll.

6 1629, 2363 foll.

brate Sūfarān and sing to the sounds of luths about the war with Tūrān.¹ The singer Bārbud charms with his heroic songs Khosrow Parviz.²

To the numerous erotical adventures of Bahrām Gūr Firdawsī tries to give a less cynical interpretation, bestowing on the heroines of these adventures not only the skill to do the office of cup-bearers, but also the talent of singing war-like songs celebrating the glories of ancient heroes or of Bahrām himself. Reminiscences of heroic antiquity are generally connected with wine. Firdawsī drinks wine whilst the beloved is reading to him from an old book the romance of Bīzan and Manīza.³ The eloquent *dihqān* well versed in the legends of antiquity while telling the story of the seven great deeds of Isfandiyār, drinks wine from a golden goblet.⁴ When seeing in a dream the poet Daqīqī, who asks him to preserve the part (1000 verses) of the Shāhnāma, written by him, Firdawsī is holding in his hand a cup of wine like unto rose-water.⁵ Judging from an old miniature which has reached us, Mohl concludes that Firdawsī himself, like the story-tellers of old, used to read his epic before Sultān Maḥmūd and his courtiers to the accompaniment of music and dances.⁶

As has been seen, drinking in the Shāhnāma goes on regularly after the meals and for preference, at night, although not exclusively. Farīdūn, for instance, when awaiting the arrival of Iraj prepares a feast by daytime.⁷ Isfandiyār entertains Rustam at noon.⁸ Hormuzd, on account of the treaty with the Khāqān of China, who is staying at his court, gives orders to serve wine at day-break.⁹

1 C. 1602.

2 C. 2008 foll.

3 1065 foll.

4 1586, 1543.

5 1495, 1,

6 Préface L. XXXII.

cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 153, at the end, and foll.

7 91, 543 foll.

8 1677, 3181.

9 C. 1841, at the end.

The table-customs are regulated by a series of rules, the knowledge of which is considered obligatory for every educated man, still more for kings. The art of drinking wine enters, therefore, as an important item into the programme of education of princes, along with other knightly accomplishments. Rustam, when bringing up in his native Zābulistān the then heir-apparent Siyāvush, having provided him with a horse and full equipment for war and chase, instructs him in state-affairs and military arts and all the virtues required in a prince and then causes a reception-hall to be built for him without forgetting wine and boon-companions to be provided for the young prince.¹ Gushtāsp, when complaining to his noblemen about the ingratitude of his son Isfandiyār, mentions having taught him besides other things, to drink and to ride on horseback.² During the sojourn of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, at Rustam's place, that powerful prince of Zābulistan teaches him how to ride, to drink and to entertain guests.³ The young Suhrāb, son of Rustam, is being educated in Tūrān. Messengers inform the father that he "with his lips smelling of milk drinks already wine and will, no doubt, soon become a hero".⁴ Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir Bābakān, is instructed in Pahlavī writing, horsemanship, military art, liberality, wine-drinking and the art of banqueting (کاربزم), etc.⁵ At the beginning of the feast it is obligatory to drink the king's health if he is present, but also in his absence, and the king (should he be present) drinks, in his turn, the health of his courtiers: یاد خوردن or یاد.⁶ After having mentioned first the king, those present drink the health of their friends: Rustam, when starting for his campaign against Afrāsiyāb (the deed of "seven heroes") asks for wine of Zābul; after having mentioned the name of

1 528, 88.

2 1549, 929 (M o h l).

3 1725, 4015.

4 463, 461.

5 C. 1397.

6 1629, 2362.

king Kāus, he empties his cup, kisses the ground and asks for a second cup, which he drinks for Tūs, and the third, for Zavāra¹. The same Rustam, having quarrelled with Kai Kāus, when going to drink, deliberately omits mentioning the name of the king.² Rustam again, when his indignation is roused by the injustice of King Gushtāsp, drinks the health "of free men" in the very presence of prince, Bahman, who transmits to him the order of his arrest adding for the benefit of the prince: "and thou mayest drink the health of whomsoever thou wishest".³

Prince Siyāvush, who was loaded with benefits by Afrāsiyāb, whose daughter he had married, is slandered by the courtiers who accuse him of having changed his mind, of entertaining messengers from Īrān and of mentioning, the name of Kāus when drinking wine.⁴ When feasting, the health of heroes, of friends, of those present is drunk, whereat the host, or one of the elders, drinks the cup first⁵. When a guest is to be particularly honoured, he is allowed to drink the first cup⁶. The conversation by which the drinking of wine is accompanied consists of complimentary phrases exchanged by the revellers; for instance, the gardener who entertains King Shāpūr addresses his guest as follows: "this house is thine house, and its gardener—thine guest..... the one who is more noble drinks first, thou art old in mind, although young in years"⁷, or "this house is thine house, and its master—thine guest and treasurer"⁸: The reply is, "the master of this house is also my master"⁹ or "may wine and one who drinks thy wine be a joy for thee"¹⁰. To Isfandiyār's toast: "may the wine and the meal be sweet (نوش) for thee" Rustam replies: "the wine that I drink with thee is always sweet and fortifies

1 421, 612 foll.

2 465, 491.

3 1652, 2478 foll.

4 636, 2034.

5 C. 1498.

6 C. 1441.

7 C. 1441.

8 C. 1525.

9 C. 1524

10 1652, 2751 (M o h l).

my wise soul.”¹

Wine is partaken of on all more or less solemn occasions such as: religious festivals, births, marriages, meetings, receptions, before starting for a battle, when taking rest after having accomplished some deed, or merely in order to get more fit for some dangerous undertaking as does, for instance, Kai Kāus during his flight to heaven on an unreliable aeroplane propelled by four hungry eagles². Wine is drunk, of course, also when there is nothing else to do or simply in order to get drunk.

Wine is mentioned for the first time during the reign of Hūshang, the second of the legendary kings of Persia,—the first king mentioned in the Shāhnāma is the original bull-man of the Awesta — Kayūmarth. Hūshang was the first who introduced civilization in the world; up to his time mankind did not know any other food but fruits, it was he who extracted iron from stone³; who began ploughing the soil and who finally struck from a rock the first spark of fire. “On the same night he arranged a feast and drank wine, thus establishing the festival of *Sada*”⁴. When the new year’s festival, the *Nowrūz*, is established by Jamshīd, along with wine there appear already musicians and singers (رامشگران)⁵. The introduction of the festival of Mihrgān and the custom of resting and feasting on holidays is ascribed to Faridūn⁶. Generally speaking, religious festivals in Persia, like everywhere, are closely connected with an increased consumption of wine. The spring-festival under Bahrām Gūr is passed in drunken merriment whereat the king himself distributes to every indigent person five dirhams and three *mann* of old wine, which is described as being the colour of pomegranate or of yellow gold⁷. In the prophecy of one Rustam, a gene-

1 1678, 3197-9.

2 409, 439 foll.

3 18, 7.

4 19, 32.

5 26, 55.

6 63, 9.

7 C. 1551.

ral to the last Yazdigird,—regarding the future of Irān under the Arab rule, bitterly sound the words: “there will not be any more feasts and merriment.—...after the winter will come the spring, but there will be no wine for the days of joy”¹.

To the most ancient time belongs the description of a nuptial banquet arranged by the king of Kābul Mihrāb on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter Rūdāba with Zāl, the father of Rustam. The queen decorates the palace like a gay paradise, mixes wine with musk and amber, spreads gold-woven carpets, places in the reception hall a sumptuous throne, studded with pearls and precious stones in the whole country spices are strewn about and the ground is besprinkled with rose-water and wine², even the manes of horses are perfumed with musk and saffron,³ goblets full of rubies and emeralds are emptied on the heads of the newly married couple and, after the nuptial ceremony is over, the feasting continues without interruption for seven days: “the whole city was full of drunken noise and the palace resembled paradise in alarm”⁴. On the occasion of the defeat of Afrāsiyāb, Kay Khosrow gives a magnificent feast: *pari*-faced cup-bearers with cheeks like brocade of Rūm; youths, adorned with golden crowns, are playing the luths; golden vessels full of pure musk and rose-water; the king himself splendid in his majesty like the moon of two weeks; the feast ends in all noblemen leaving the palace thoroughly drunk.⁵ During the feast luths are droning, songs are heard, goblets are shining and hands are similar to rubies with stains of the ruby-coloured wine⁶. It is narrated about Alexander of Macedonia that, when leaving the palace of

1 C. 2065. 2 216, 1558 foll. 3 218, 1609—elsewhere
(1046, 1464) the people and the elephants are besprinkled with musk,
wine and saffron. 4 219, 1628. 5 1139, 1304.
6 1108, 740 (Mohl).

the Faghfūr of China in a half-drunken state, he holds in his hand a lemon (sic).¹

On the occasion of the reception of the Indian king Shangil by Bahrām Gūr the revellers, after having fed to satisfaction on mutton and roasted fowl served on golden dishes, drink wine from crystal cups; those who drink have their heads adorned with golden coronets, their feet encased in shoes embroidered with pearls. Shaṅgil, who, it seems, does not partake of wine, falls under the spell of the surroundings and fancies Persia as a paradise on earth where all those present smell of musk; finally, seeing that everybody is drunk he modestly retires.² Details change, but, generally speaking, the descriptions of the feasts vary but little: either the noblemen when in a state of intoxication put on their heads wreaths of roses³ or hold in their hands a narcissus⁴ or, when leaving the feast, reeling they lean on a moon-faced (page).⁵

To remain silent during a feast is considered as suspicious: the Iranians besieged on mount Hamāvan are made uneasy by the stillness of their enemies who are usually in the habit of feasting with great noise; the wise *pahlavān* Tūs presumes "that the Turks keep a council or are dead-drunk".⁶

The birth of a prince and particularly that of an heir-apparent gives also, of course, occasion for arranging a feast. On the occasion of the birth of Shāpūr-Zū-l-Aktāf the feast lasts for forty days⁷; the birth of Shīrūya, the son of Khosrow Parviz from the daughter of the Qayṣar, is celebrated in Rūm for a whole week.⁸

In funerals, although, as it seems, they are not accompanied by drinking, wine plays still a certain rôle there

1 C. 1349. 2 C. 1580. 3 1451, 110. 4 1615, 2105.

5 1630, 2368.

6 922, 900: زمی بهش اند.

7 C. 1431.

8 C. 1992, at the end.

as well; together with musk, camphor and spices, wine is placed into the grave or else the burial vault is besprinkled with wine.¹

The receptions of envoys are celebrated with great pomp,—the king, sitting on his throne, is hidden from their eyes by a curtain until the reception formally begins,—and, of course, such receptions end with a feast. This rule is not transgressed even in cases when envoys come with requests of tribute or with a declaration of war².

It is obligatory to drink while taking rest after a battle or after an important business has been completed. Thus, Sām, after having secured the throne of the Kayānians for Naudhar, is being entertained by the king for seven days³; thus also Rustam, after having found on the Alburz Kay-qubād⁴, who had been stolen by the Simurgh. During an interval between his innumerable deeds, Rustam, who is going to subdue the man-eater Kafūr goes a-hunting and indulges in wine for two weeks⁵; the same happens after his victory over the Div-i Akvān.⁶ He rests a whole month drinking wine with Kay Khosrow, after having defeated Afrāsiyāb,⁷ and a whole year—after the conquest of Gangdiz, “the paradise-like”.⁸ Soon after his accession to the throne, the same Kay Khosrow makes a tour all over his empire and, whilst feasting in all the cities, accomplishes deeds of justice and munificence.⁹

Wine is partaken of also at partings. Thus, for instance, Zāl and Rustam after the departure of Sām,¹⁰ or Bahrām Gūr with Shangil, though, in the latter case, not so much on account of a parting as in order to celebrate their newly concluded friendship.¹¹ On their reconciliation

1 1741, 4310; C. 2087.	2 1486, 754 foll.	3 247, 58.
4 297, 272.	5 1019, 996 foll.	6 1061, 214.
7 1048, 1491 (M o h l).	8 1376, 2046.	9 768, 65 foll.
10 231, 1814.	11 1577.	

after a big quarrel Kay Kāus and Rustam drink till they get intoxicated, remembering in the meantime the deeds of former heroes.¹ Wine is partaken of in sorrow, in disappointment, in order to allay the pain of an offence. Rustam gets drunk, when he loses during a hunting expedition his favourite horse Rakhsh.² Afrā-siyāb when defeated tries to drown his sorrow in wine in the paradise-like flower-gardens of Gangdiz.³ Isfandiyār when he grows angry with his father, drinks for two days and nights with moon-faced beauties.⁴ Rustam, when defending himself against the unjust accusations proffered by Isfandiyār, says at the end: "Enough! . . . let us drink wine and chase away therewith the sorrows of the soul."⁵ The disgraced Ardashīr, when banished by Ardavān, passes his time in drinking wine and listening to music.⁶

Under the influence of wine, now and again, kings and heroes like to boast and to be expansive. Mihrāb of Kābul during a feast at Rustam's "drank such a great quantity of wine that he did not see anybody in the world except himself"; "what have I to do", he exclaimed, "with Zāl and Sām, or the king with his crown and his grandeur?"⁷ Rustam, under the influence of a long drinking-bout, laughs at those who are afraid of the king's anger saying to Gīv, who is urging him to execute the orders of Kāus: "do not be afraid, nobody in the world can do me any harm". Owing to these words he was on the point of being hanged, which, however, does not prevent him some time after that, when he is quite sober, to revile most violently the self-conceited king to his very face.⁸ In a splendid discourse, which precedes his single combat with Isfandiyār, Rustam, who becomes red in his face from the effects of wine, does

1 472, 621 foll.

2 437, 75 foll.

3 1318, 900 foll.

4 1633, 2415.

5 1670, 3075; the second hemistich same as

229, 1790. 6 1369.

7 229, 1793.

8 465, 497; 466, 515 foll.

not stop at cursing king Gushtāsp¹. Gushtāsp under the influence of wine claims from his father Luhrāsp the crown and the throne.² Isfandiyār returns drunk and discontented from a miscarried banquet given in honour of his deeds "of the seven stations" and asking for some more wine complains to his mother of his father's injustice and threatens him with a revolt.³ A quarrel on religious grounds which results in a brawl in the presence of Khusrow Parvīz takes place between the Christian Niyātūs and the Zoroastrian Bandūyi, when they are under the influence of wine.⁴

Advantage is naturally often taken of the drunkenness of an enemy, or drunkenness becomes itself a cause of fatal accidents. Thus, the tipsy sons of Farīdūn fall under the influence of witchcraft on the part of the prince of Yemen.⁵ The treacherous capture of Kāus by the king of Hamāvarān is preceded by a seven days' feast, towards the end of which the Iranians do not recollect, either how, or why, either fear, or harm".⁶ Bižan is intoxicated when being kidnapped by the beautiful Māniža.⁷ It is not without purpose that Isfandiyār, disguised as a merchant, makes drunk the noblemen of Arjāsp⁸, or tries to make drunk Rustam⁹. The Qayšar of Rūm, orders the drunken Shāpūr to be sewn up in a donkey's skin¹⁰, but later on he himself in a drunken state is made prisoner by Shāpūr.¹¹ Shāpur III being soundly asleep after having drained three cups of royal wine is killed by the falling in of his tent¹². One of the last Sasanids Ardashīr, son of Shirūya, dies, strangled during a feast¹³.

Although feasts often degenerate into revelries but as rather an exception than a general rule. Serious affairs

1 1680, 3244 and the preceding.	2 1447, 40.	3 1631, 2388.
4 C. 1947.	5 73, 202 foll.	6 389, 158.
7 1079, 231.		
8 1615, 2088 foll.	9 1677.	10 C. 1438.
11 C. 1445		
12 C. 1459.	13 C. 2053	

are dealt with to the accompaniment of wine, important undertakings are decided upon,—such as,—for instance, the campaign against Māzandarān or the combat of the seven heroes. At a feast in the presence of Kay Khosrow everybody has a heart full of joy, goblets in their hands, red faces, “but nobody is drunken”¹. The same king, expecting the attack by Afrāsiyāb, drinks wine during a council with his noblemen a whole night and a whole day². After a nightly council the pahlavāns leave the palace of Kay Kāus at the light of torches, with joy and mirth in their hearts.³ Khosrow Arūshirvān drinks wine when listening to the discourses of the wise Buzurj-mihr⁴. Edifying speeches are addressed by that king to his noblemen mostly while drinking wine.

We have seen above, that wine is drunk to the accompaniment of stories about olden times and old heroes. Generally speaking, wine is viewed by the Persians mostly in the same light as it was held by the Psalmist: wine for them is a bringer of joy,⁵ who dispels grief and cares⁶; cheeks blossom up from its effects like red roses.⁷ It is considered good for the health⁸ (خوشگوار), but is called also “a drug of madness” (داروی بی‌هشی)⁹; once wine is even administered as a narcotic, namely when Rūdāba has to undergo the Caesarean operation at her delivery of Rustam.¹⁰

The attitude of the Shāhnāma towards the consumption of wine is entirely favourable, and the unavoidable excesses in the use of the same are looked upon at the most with indulgence. The young Rustam, under the influence of the

1 1112, 811.	2 1191, 989.	3 1364, 1792 foll.
4 C. 1660 foll.	5 Thus, for instance, 1050, 23 ; 1112, 811	
1630, 2373 ; 1644, 2590 ; C. 1512 ; C. 1660.	6 229. 1790; 437, 69.	
7 1644, 2591.	8 1441, 108; 1630, 2372; C. 1270.	
9 C. 1529.	10 223, 1678.	

fumes of wine, kills the infuriated "white elephant"¹, and Bahrām Gūr, during the feast at an Indian king's, defeats a professional wrestler after the "wine had troubled his brain"². On many occasions the heroes boast that they are as enduring when drinking wine at a feast, as when fighting in a battle³. Somebody once complained to Anūshirvān the Just of certain rich wine-bibbers, who, it was said, disturbed the slumbers of all the inhabitants of the city. The following wise decision was uttered by the king on that occasion: "it does not matter, not only those but all of you who are wealthy ought to spend your life in joy and merriment and live without offence and grief"⁴.

There are, however, cases when excess is met with a hidden or an open blame. Thus, a "weak wine-drinker"⁵, the prince Bahman replies to the ironical remark made by Rustam to the effect that he does not eat even one hundredth part of what is necessary for Rustam's sound appetite: "it is not becoming for a king's son to be a babbler or a glutton"⁶. Rustam, however, merely laughs at it. The king of Kābul, after having treacherously dug a number of wolf-pits on a hunting ground, invites Rustam to a hunting party, during which he is condemned to perish. He uses words of flattery and self-abasement on that occasion "although thine slave", he says, "might have been drunk or raving and might have shown in his insanity haughtiness, you must forgive my sins" etc.⁷. Bahrām Gūr is blamed by his noblemen for thinking only about love-affairs and feasts, whilst other kings are making conquests.⁸ Shangil, the Indian, as

1 231, 1815 foll.

2 C. 1563, at the end.

3 Thus, for instance, 1678, 3207; 1487, 782; 1108, note 2.

4 C. 1758, at the end.

5 1652, 2752.

6 1652, 2745.

7 1736, 4212 foll.

8 C. 1541.

has been said, having looked with indulgence at the tipsy grantees of Bahrām's court, withdraws quietly.¹ Khosrow Anūshirvān replies to some remarks of his *mūbad* concerning the dissolute life of earlier kings: "they sometimes forgot the glory for the sake of the cup, in my case the glory has overcome the cup".² The conduct of one of the last Sasanids Gurāz Farāyīn, who had dissipated all the riches of his treasury on absurdly luxurious feasts and used to pass his nights in drinking and rambling about in gardens and public squares,³ is most emphatically denounced in the Shāhnāma.

Two figures in the epic are prominent, who are undeniably favourites with the people of Persia and whose adventures have been dealt with by the poet with particular fondness. They are—in the ancient epoch Rustam, in the later epoch the Sasanid Bahrām Gūr.⁴ Both of them are untiring wine-drinkers. Both of them, neglecting the generally adopted rule, drink at every time of the day or night, beginning sometimes in the morning. With regard to both of them it is mentioned that on the morning after a revel they drink to dispel the fumes of last night⁵. During the feast given in honour of the "seven heroes" news is received of the advance of Afrāsiyāb. Rustam, paying no attention, keeps on drinking and asking for more and more wine. Finally the pahlavāns, unable to stand the strain, begin to ask for mercy, saying: "we cannot hold this cup, Iblis himself could not be thine equal as regards wine".⁶ Rustam knows, however, quite well, when he may drink and when he may not. Thus, for instance, during his journey to Alburz,

1 C. 1580. 2 C. 1769, at the end. 1770, beginning.

3 C. 2055. 4 cf. the characteristic of Rustam by Nöldeke, Grundr. d. iran. Phil. II, p. 174 foll. 5 464, 486 (كز = crapulence); C. 1527. 6 421, 618.

while looking for Kay Qubād he replies to the invitation of the pahlavāns to join them in their feast: "the Iranian land is full of enemies.....the Iranian throne is without a king, it behooves me not to drink"¹.

All the reign of Bāhram Gūr is full of exploits in the domain of Bacchus and Venus. He himself not only untiringly practises but also continually theorizes on the art of drinking wine. "A reasonable man", he says, "never trusts a drunken man in anything", or "whom wine makes sad will never know either the colour or the fragrance of wine", etc.² In an edifying discourse addressed to his noblemen he preaches that: "who is young, let him enjoy life, that he should not molest the souls of his subjects. In your old age do not indulge in drunkenness: it is not good for an old man to be a lover of wine"³. His wise sentence: "the one is happy who has no sorrows and is abstemious, still more so, if he be a ruler"⁴, sounds in his mouth like an arid theory. Basing himself on a prediction made by astrologers that he would live to the age of sixty or even more, he makes up his mind to enjoy life thoroughly for the first 20 years, to devote the second score to state-affairs and the administration of justice and the last 20 years to religion⁵. The period of bodily enjoyment, however, lasts in fact almost to his very death. His last deed of national purport was to bring from India ten thousand gypsy-musicians, the so-called Lūrī. They were actually brought to Persia for the population, who were grumbling at being compelled for want of means to drink wine "with empty hands and without music" whilst the rich drink crowned with flowers, to the sounds of music and of singing. That venture, however, did not meet with a particularly brilliant success.

1 292, 192 foll.

2 C. 1529.

3 C. 1558

4 1583.

5 C. 1532, at the end, and foll.

“Up to the present time”, concludes Firdawsī that episode, “the Lūrīs are wandering about the world, poverty-stricken, associating with dogs and wolves and roaming about all the year long in the company of scoundrels.”¹

The following edifying anecdote belongs also to the reign of Bahrām Gūr. It illustrates the consequences of wine-drinking and is related with an extraordinary, though somewhat crude, humour². One morning, says Firdawsī, Bahrām, surrounded by his courtiers, is drinking wine. There arrives a certain landowner who brings to the king a gift of a whole caravan of fruits and flowers. Bahrām, with kind words, invites him to take a seat amongst his courtiers. The guest, enraptured with the splendour of his surroundings, drinks the king's health emptying a huge goblet containing five *mann* of wine and exclaims: “I am a lover of wine and my name is Kabrūy,³ of such goblets I shall drink seven and then I will go home, sober, and nobody shall hear from me any drunken screams”.⁴ And so he does, to the extreme astonishment of those present. Feeling on the way that the wine “inside him is getting warm”, he leaves his servants and he directs his horse from the field to a hill where he alights and falls asleep in a shady place. In the meantime, a black raven swoops down from the summit and pecks out both eyes of the sleeper. The servants, on their arrival, find their master dead and “curse both the banquet and the goblet”. Moved to his very soul by that accident Bahrām gives the order: “wine is prohibited for everybody in the world, for heroes, as for the common people”. Thus a whole year passes, everybody observing the prohibition and the king himself, while

2 C. 1585 foll.

3 C. 1498 foll.

4 T, M a c a n reads

Kīrāz—C. 1499, v. 5 it is said to be a Pahlavi name.

5 M o h l (text) V, 576 v. 300 foll.

feasting and listening to legends of olden times, "does not drink any wine and is far from wine, there being neither the colour nor the odour of wine".¹ Things remain in that state, until a young cobbler conceives the idea of marrying a young girl of noble extraction. But, alas, he does not make any headway² to the great disappointment of his mother. At last, she remembers, however, having hidden a supply of wine and contrives to make her son partake of it for encouragement.³ After having quaffed seven or eight cups of wine the lad becomes at once strong⁴ and his adventure comes to a happy conclusion⁵. Meanwhile, a lion escapes from the king's menagerie. Our fellow, still intoxicated with the wine he had drunk, jumps on the back of the lion, without much ado, holding him by the ears.⁶ In explanation of that miracle it is mentioned that the lion, when he got loose, was not hungry. The head-keeper of the menagerie, who arrives at that moment with a snare and a chain, is amazed at the wonderful sight. "A cobbler riding on a lion's back, like on a donkey (sic) a valiant horseman"⁷ is his report to the sovereign. The latter, in perplexity, instructs his prime-minister to "go and see of what race this cobbler is; should he belong to the pahlavāns, then it does not matter, because valiance is becoming for the pahlavāns"⁸. Inquiries are made, his mother is taken to task. The talkative old woman relates, with most realistic details, the story of her son's marriage and concludes: "I gave him secretly three (sic) cups of

1 In the Calcutta edition this verse is omitted-

2 فرازش نیامد بدین کار سخت

3 مکر بشکنی امشب آن مهر تنگ * کلنگ از نمد کی کنند کان سنگ

4 یامد در خانه سوراخ کرد 5 همانا بی و پوشتش سخت گشت

6 زاده هنوز آن پسر مست بود * بدریا ده انگشت او شسته بود

7 C. 1500 v. 14.

8 *Ibid.* v. 19.

wine, nobody in the world knew anything about it and then suddenly his cheeks became red and....¹. His grandfather was a cobbler, his father was a cobbler and beyond that handicraft his family did not reach. His valour is solely due to the three cups of wine. Who would have imagined that the king should want to know such things". The king began to laugh, saying: "this event must not be concealed", and, addressing the *mūbad*, he added: "henceforward wine is allowed, a drunkard is approved, who drinks sufficient to mount a lion in such a manner that the lion cannot throw him off, but not so much as that a black raven should peck out his eyes, when he is lying drunk on the road". Immediately the call is heard from the palace: "You, gold-girdled pahlavāns, drink wine everybody as much as he can, but for the consequences you will be responsible yourselves. Wine should be for you a guide to joy. Afterwards take care to sleep in such a way that your body should not suffer"².

A whole series of comparisons from the domain of wine are found in the *Shāhnāma*. Thus, for instance, Farīdūn's face is compared with wine sparkling in a ruby-cup.³ Siyāvush, when composing a diplomatic letter to Kay Kāus is said to "mix in his mind wine with milk"⁴. The lips of young girls "are full of wine scented with rose-water".⁵ Girls sing about Bahrām Gūr that: "wine seems to be flowing from his face, his hair smells of musk"⁶. By his side his bride Sapīnūd, Shangil the Indian's daughter, is shining like wine in a cup of crystal".⁷ That yellow goblet called the sun".⁸ During a rain which comes after a long period of drought "the dew on roses was like wine in

1 نمد بر سر آورد و گشت اسخوان

2 C. 1498-1501; Mohl V, 576-580. 3 62,7. 4 574, note 6

5 1074, 162. 6 C. 1505. 7 C. 1571. 8 C. 1581.

goblets".¹ Rustam says under the guise of a proverb: "if you pour out the wine, you cannot throw out its smell".² The *mubads* blame Khusrow Parviz for having raised to the dignity of a queen his former mistress Shirin. Parviz justifies himself by means of an allegory: "a golden cup full of blood is brought into the assembly, at the sight of which all turn away in horror. Then the king orders to throw out the blood and, having thoroughly washed the cup, to fill it with wine, musk and rose-water, after which it shines like the sun. Such is Shirin".³

As to Firdawsī himself he regards wine as a true Persian full of joy of life and takes into consideration the new law of Muḥammad only for form's sake. Different variations on the theme of *carpe diem* and *nunc est bibendum* sound in his mouth too convincingly not to be sincere. "If you have a cup, ask for golden wine, and mind that there is no sin in the joy of the heart"⁴. "Now it is time to drink good wine because the odour of musk is coming from the mountain. The air is full of noise, the earth is full of throbbing; happy is one whose heart is full of joy from the effects of wine...".⁵ These words serve as an introduction to the wonderfully sweet description of spring: "What is the use of being anxious, what for to know the future⁶, it is not worth while to talk about it.....since death is lying in ambush for us like a wolf, let me have a large cup full of wine and a cypress-statured beloved, silver-bodied, well-behaved and sweet-tongued"⁷. "When the soul becomes covered with rust from the bitterness of a word (*i.e.* offence), old wine washes off the rust; when old age comes with stealthy steps upon a man, old wine makes him young. Under the influence of

1 C. 1591.

2 1132, note 1.

3 C. 2001 foll.

4 C. 1656 v. 10, cf. Mohl's translation VI, 190.

5 1630,

2372 foll.

6 Mohl V, 409 (C. 1426).

7 C. 1426.

wine the true character comes to light, wine is a key which opens a closed heart" (M o h l)...and so forth on the theme of *in vino veritas*¹. " Oh old man, when thy age reaches sixty and one, wine and cup and leisure are deprived of salt; when it is time to prepare oneself for death, wine is like a fur-coat during the month Day (winter); the body is frozen amongst sins, the soul has lost her path to heaven; many of the friends have remained behind, many of them are gone, and thou with a goblet as thy guide hast remained in the field".²

The end of the epic. The last king of the Sasanian dynasty Yazdigird III utterly defeated and flying before the invading Arab hordes perishes tragically at the hand of a hired murderer.

Old Persia is dead.

The poet is nearly eighty years old³. He is tired, disappointed, he has lost all confidence in men and life and from the depth of his soul there bursts a cry of bitter resentment against the treacherous destiny: " we ask for justice for Yazdigird, we cry for vengeance to the seven spheres!"

However,—brought to his senses, having understood the vanity and weakness of all human fears, reconciled with the idea that there is no truth on earth, that " this world will roll through thee and the time keeps account of every breath",⁴—Firdawsi exclaims: " Bring wine, there are not many days left! Thus it has been from times immemorial and nobody has escaped (death)".⁵

1 1444, 3186 foll.

2 C. 1781.

3 C. 2095.

4 C. 2088.

5 C. 2089.

قصہ زرتشتیان ہندوستان

و

بیان آتش بہرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÛSHTIÂN-I HINDÛSTÂN

VA

BAYÂN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. SÎR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., BA., PH.D., C.I.E.

(Continued from No. 17, p. 63.)

Gangaji Rao (Gaikwar) was in power at the time in Naosari. The laymen carried a complaint to him about the Bhagariâ Mobads. So, Gangaji Rao summoned the Bhagariâ Mobads before him. Desai Khurshedji represented their case and said: "The laymen are our clients (*murid*, disciples) and they have turned away from us at the asking of the Sanjana Mobads." Rao Gangaji, hearing both sides, asked the laymen to give to the Bhagariâs what was due to them (*haqq vâjbi*). In the assembly (*Majlas*, court) there were Hindu Desais also. Rao Gangaji decided that the laymen were the clients of the Bhagariâ priests. Desai Khurshed then requested, that the laymen may pass a writing that all their religious ceremonies, whether of the dead or of the living, shall be performed by the

Gangaji Rao
and the Parsees.
cc. 393-443.

Bhagariās, and that they were the clients of the Bhagariās. The Rao, thereupon, called the laymen again before him and asked them to pass a writing to the above effect. The laymen thereupon placed a writing to that effect in the hands of the Bhagariās. The document was duly signed and witnessed even by some Hindu Desais, who were present at the meeting.¹ The Bhagariās rejoiced and blessed Desai Khurshed, saying that Naosari became flourishing (gulzar) through him. The laymen also were pleased with this affair, as it caused quarrels to disappear. The Mobads and Behdins were reconciled, but the Sanjana priests, who wanted to perform the religious rites for the laymen, were disappointed.

Then Desai Khurshed, in consultation with the Bhagariā Mobads, asked the Sanjana priests to act as their forefathers did (according to the very first agreement). He said, that the religious ceremonies of the dead and the living, even in the families of the Sanjana priests, should be performed by the Bhagariās. The Sanjana priests

1 This writing is dated roz 26, mäh 3, Samvat 1761 (A.C. 1735). It appears from this document, that Gangaji Rao Gaikwar entrusted the whole case to a few leading Hindu gentlemen whose names are given in the document. They went into the merit of the case and saw old documents on the subject. They proposed certain terms, the chief of which were (a) that the Bhagariā priests may continue to perform the religious rites at the houses of their laymen who adhered to, and acknowledged, them and (b) that those Minochehr Homji priests, who had separated from their brother Bhagariā priests of Naosari, may perform, in the new Agiari founded for them by their Behdins, the funeral ceremonies of their laymen, but not the ceremonies for the living, such as those of marriage, which shall be performed by the Bhagariā priests. This document was passed by Patel Dadajee Behramjee and other laymen of Naosari to Dastur Jamshedji Rustomjee Meherji Rana, Desai Khurshedji Tehmulji and other Bhagariā priests (*Vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 31.)

wanted to see the writing (navisht khân). The Bhagariās then immediately produced the document. The Sanjana priests, on seeing it, accepted this arrangement and, at first, acted accordingly.

Some time passed over this peaceful state of affairs, and then, Satan again worked mischief. The Sanjanas turned away from the proper path and lodged a complaint in this matter before the Subhedar, Damaji Rao (داماجی)

The Sanjanas lodged a complaint before Damaji. cc. 443-493.

by name, at Sângar (سونگر). They complained that they ought not to be asked to abstain from performing ceremonies of their own families. The Bhagariās went with Desai Khurshed to defend themselves. Damaji Rao heard both sides and then said to the Sanjana priests, that, according to the arrangement with their ancestors, their limit (of ecclesiastical work) was confined to Sanjan, and that, therefore, they should not perform any religious services (even those of their families) at Naosari.¹ The Sanjanas were displeased at this ruling and wanted his (Damaji Rao's) permission (hukam) to depart from Naosari with their Sacred Fire to the boundaries (sarhad) of Sanjan. Thereupon, Damaji Rao asked Desai Khurshed, as to what he had to say to that proposal of the Sanjana priests. Desai Khurshed said, that, if they wanted to remain at Naosari, they must act as their forefathers did and let the Bhagariā priests perform the religious ceremonies of the dead and the living of their families, but, if they did not agree to do so, they may go to their own boundary district. The Sanjanas

1 The document containing the decision of Damaji Rao is dated 13 Bhâdarwâ 1796 (i.e., 1740 A.C.). I have given a photo-litho facsimile of this document in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their dates". It is the document No. IV there. I have given there also my translation of the document. (I'ide p. 81, n. 1).

refused to remain at Naosari on the above conditions and asked permission (parvaneh) to go. It was given to them.¹ All then returned from Sûngar to Naosari.

The Sanjana priests left Naosari on roz Jamyâd, mâh.

Aspandâd, year Yazdagardi 1109 (1741

The Sanjanas
leave for Bulsar,
cc. 493-507.

A.C.) and went to Bulsar, where they
remained for 2 or 3 years (dô sê sâl).

They then went with the Sacred Fire to

Udvârâ (اودوارہ). Raja Durje Sang² (درجہ سنگ) helped them. On their departure, the quarrel between the Behdins and Mobads at Naosari disappeared.

1 The parvaneh is dated Samvat 1797 Aso Sudi 7, i.e., 1741 A.C. *Vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 34, n. 4.

2 The *Parsi Prakash* (Vol. I, p. 35) gives the date of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Udvârâ as 28th October 1742. Mr. Ramsay, in an article in the *Indian Antiquary* of 5th July 1872 (Vol. I, p. 213), thus speaks on this subject, on the authority of what he had personally heard from the Dastur of Udvârâ: "After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Mandvi, Durjansinghji, then residing in his fort at Pardi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea coast for a residence. At Udvârâ was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A *sanad* was given conferring certain privileges and immunities." This is stated to have been in the Samvat year 1799 (A.D. 1742): "For the different persons, who provided a house for the Sacred Fire, *vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 35, n. 5. It is said that during its stay at Naosari, this Sacred Fire had to be removed once to Surat, to preserve it from being desecrated at the hands of the Pindari plunderers. That was in 1733 A.C. (*Parsi Prakash* I, p. 30). It was brought back to Naosari in 1736 (*ibid.* p. 38). It is said that the new Sacred Fire, latterly founded at Naosari, also had to be similarly removed to Surat in 1776 (*ibid.* p. 50).

V

A FREE VERSION OF THE QISSEH-I
ATASH VARHARÂM-I NAOSARI.¹

One day, the Rapithwan Jashan day (roz 3, mäh 1), there met at the Dar-i Meher, the priests and laymen of Naosari. Desai Khurshed² also was present. At the conclusion of the Jashan ceremony, the people who had assembled said to Desai Khurshed:—"We must do this work: In your time we must make (*i.e.*, found, dar daurat kunîm, c. 517), an Atash Varharam (Atash Behram). By that work, your name will be remembered for ever. It is the duty of the faithful to found a fire in their city". The good-natured leader, Khurshed, said in reply: "I also pray for the same work, day and night. If you are in favour of such a work, I am ready." Being pleased with this reply, they all recited Tandarusti³ that we found (sâzîm) Atash Behram.

1 In giving my summary of the contents of this part, I will mostly draw from what I have said in my article, entitled "Qisseh-i Ātash Behrām-i-Naosāri", in the issue of *Zartoshti* (շրժուիք) of Meher 1278 Yazdezardi (Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 176-184).

2 Later on, the Qisseh-i gives Tehmûr (طهمور) as the name of his father (c. 545) and Minocheher as that of his son (c. 549) who was said to be very religious.

3 It was, and still is, a custom, that, when a good work is intended to be done, the people assembled at a meeting where it is announced, recite a Tandarusti, praying for God's blessing upon the whole Anjuman if it is the whole Anjuman's affair or upon a particular Anjuman if it is his individual work or charity. Here, neither the Anjuman's name nor an individual name is mentioned, but the verb is in the plural number, mâ "sâzîm" (ما سازیم, c. 525), *i.e.*, we prepare the Atash Behram.

Four Dasturs offered their services and produced various books to settle the course of ceremonies for consecrating the Atash Behram. They were the following:

The Dasturs consult Pahlavi (Uzvaresh) books for consecrating a new Atash Behram. cc. 526-51.

(1) Dasturân Dastur Sohrab, who was descended from Dastur Mahyâr who had gone to Shah Akbar. He produced from his own library, Pazend and Pahlavi writings for consultation.

(2) Dastur Burzo, son of Darab. He produced, out of many Mss., one which was in Persian handwriting.

(3) Dastur Jamshed Jamasp. (4) Dastur Manock, son of Jamshed.

These four Dasturs and other learned Mobads met together, and, consulting Pahlavi treatises on the subject, represented to Desai Khorshed what ceremonies were required to prepare and consecrate the Sacred Fire of an Atash Behram. They specially showed to him a manuscript (نسخه)¹ which was from Persia².

Desai Khorshed then proposed to all Dasturs and Mobads that various Parsi centres may be informed of their resolve to found an Atash Behram. So, letters were written to various centres. One was written to Surat, where several well-known persons lived. One such person was Noshirwan, son of Bahman, son of Seth Rustam Manock. He was very kind to his co-religionists.

1 Nuskheh is from Pahlavi Nusk.

2 It seems that the Ms., which the Dasturs produced as having come from Persia (c. 542), is the same as that referred to above, as having been produced by Dastur Burjo Darab Pahlân and as written in Persian (khat-i Fars, c. 534). It was held to be the most important for the purpose. Unfortunately, the name of the treatise is not given. But I think that it is the same as referred to later on (c. 595), as being in the hand of Darab, who, as I have said later on, was Dastur Darab Hormuzdyâr.

and had risen to high dignity, so much so, that "out of all the great men that had come to India from Iran, there was none like him." The next great man at Surat, was Sohrab, who also was descended from Rustam (Manock). The third great man at Surat was Darab whose surname also is given as Sett. The fourth leading man of Surat, was Minocheher, son of Khurshid. He also was known as Sett. All these four became glad at the news of an Atash Behram being founded, and wrote a reply, saying: "We will send whatever expense is necessary (mar ân khorchî kê bâ-yad ma ferestand, c. 579). We are always desirous that such a work be done in Naosari."

Letters, similar to those sent to Surat, were sent to the Parsees of Broach (Bharuch), Aoklesar (Anklesar), Kambayat (Cambay), Goudarah (Goudavreh) people (Jamâa) and Mumbâi (Bombay). They all were pleased and wrote sympathetic encouraging replies. These replies were read in the Dar-i Meher¹. All were pleased at the encouraging replies. Then Desai Khurshed requested the great Dastur Sohrab to hasten the work of preparing the Sacred Fire of Atash-Behram.

The Dasturs looked into the above mentioned well-known (sâmi) books which were in Pazend, Persian and Pahlavi. They mostly rested upon the authority of a manuscript belonging to Dastur Darab. One day, they all, the old and the young, met together. Among them, there was

1 The Dar-i Meher, i.e., the Porte or Poreh of Meher, is a temple where religious ceremonies are performed. It also contains fire, but that fire need not be the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behram or Adaran. In Naosari, the Dar-i Meher and Atash Behram are in two separate buildings, but in Bombay they are located in the same building.

also present Desai Jivan, son of Manock. There, Dastur Sohrab read some particulars about the preparation of the Sacred Fire of Atash Behram. They were told that sixteen fires of different kinds, *i.e.*, from places of work of different kinds of tradesmen, were required.

The first fire is the fire that burnt the corpse of a non-Zoroastrian (murdeh darvand). Two persons were to go with *paiwand*¹ to consecrate the first of the 16 Fires, as read by Dastur Sohrab, cc. 603-23. They were to go with *paiwand*¹ to pick up the fire. Then two priests observing *khub*² may hold a *paiwand* and dig, in an enclosed place, nine separate pits. The measure of each pit is one span (*i.e.*, 9 inches) in length and breadth. They may then bring the fire which burnt a corpse to that place and put it in the first pit. They may take up (bar dârad) a fire from it and let the original fire get cool (sard)³, *i.e.*, extinguished. This process is to be continued over all the nine pits. Then, when, after nine purifications, the fire is produced in the ninth pit, it is not allowed to be cool, but is kept burning with fragrant fuel (bui-i khush). Then, it may be taken to

1 *Paiwand* is the holding of a piece of cloth or cotton tape between themselves, by two persons, signifying, that they are in close contact or touch with each other (*Vide* my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis, pp. 55-56).

2 *Khub* is a liturgical qualification, acquired by a priest, by performing the Yaçna ceremony (*Ibid.* p. 147).

3 The description of the process of consecrating the polluted fire from the burning ground is not quite clear in its details as given here, because, as said by the author, it is very brief. The ceremony of founding a new Atash Behram consists of seven processes in all, *viz.*, (1) Collection of 16 fires, (2) their Purification, (3) their Consecration, (4) Union of the 16 consecrated fires, (5) Consecration of the united sacred fire, (6) Consecration of the temple itself, and (7) Enthroning the united fire. For all the processes in detail, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 211-34.

the Dar-i Meher for the performance of the Yaçna (yashtan) over it. Then (two) Mobads, possessing 15 qualifications¹, may consecrate the fire by reciting 71 yasnas over it. Then they may further recite three Vendidads and Yasna in honour of Ahura Mazda. Then, for one month from the 1st day Ahuramazd to the 30th day Anarar (Aniran) Vendidads may be recited over the fire at night. Thus, the first fire is properly consecrated and the priest must go before it with *panâm* (padân) over his face.

The second fire to be consecrated is that from the
 Consecration of the other Fires, cc. 624-31. house of a dyer (rangriz), and the third, from a public bath (hamâm).² In all, 16 fires are to be collected and con-

1 The 15 qualifications of a good priest are referred to in various writings. *Vide* West, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 47, pp. 167-70. Zadsparam Ch. XXIV. For the Pahlavi Text, *vide* Zadsparam, edited by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria (in the Press), pp. 94-98. Out of the fifteen, the Zadsparam speaks of five as *hâtûm* (هاتم), *i.e.*, dispositions or characteristics and of ten as *andarz* (آندرز), *i.e.*, admonitions. The Rivâyats also speak of some physical qualifications and disqualifications. *Vide* Ervad Manockji R. Unvala's litho edition of Darab Hormuzdyar's Rivâyat with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 1-19.

2 Our author does not name all. The list differs a little according to different writers. The hamâm or a public-bath fire, mentioned by our author, is not included in the list of others. The list, as given in the Vendidad (Chap. VIII), must be taken as the principal authoritative one, but, for some reason or another, in later accounts, the lists vary. The late Dastur Edulji Minocheherji Jamaspasana said that "in the case of all the six Atash Behrams founded and consecrated in Bombay and elsewhere, there has not been any similarity in the matter of process." (*Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", page 211 n.). For the different lists, *vide* (a) Kavasji Edalji Kanga's list in his Vendidad, 3rd Ed. of 1894, p. 186, (b) Dastur Edalji Sohrabji Meherji Rana's list in the "Tamâm Avesta ni Ketâb" published by Mr. Dadabhai Cawasji, Vol. II, pp. 213-14, (c) the list of the Ithoter Rivâyat published in 1846,

secrated. They are referred to in the 8th Chapter (kardeh) of the Vendidad¹.

When Dastur Sohrab finished reading the account, The Priests as to how the Atash Behram was to be proceed to the consecrated, Desai Khurshed asked Dastur work of Con- cc. Sohrab to be the leader in the work secration. 682-707, and make his selection of the priests required for the purpose. Two hundred priests offered their services to Dastur Sohrab. Out of them, one hundred were selected. They knew well the Avesta. They also knew Shayast va nâ Shayast, i.e., what (rules and regulations) were to be observed and what not. Our author expresses his extreme pleasure, and praises Desai Khurshed much for bringing about the fulfilment of the great purpose of founding an Atash Behram.

The priests had begun (sharu kardeh, c. 664) their work on roz Hormazd, mâh Tir, 1134² Yezdezardi. In the end, all the 100 priests come to the Dar-i

(દીન બેહ માજીઅશનીની હકીકતો હરાત પુરશેશ પારોખ ઈઆને ઈકેતેર રેવાયત સવાલ જવાબ, ૫૧૦ ૭ થી ૨૩). This Rivâyat from Persia, is in reply to 78 questions from Behdin Dhanjishaw and other Behdins and Dasturs of Surat. The questions and replies were collected in one treatise in Persian by Folâd bin Rustam. Among the Surat signatories to the questions, we find the names of Dastur Darab Sohrab, the teacher of Anquetil, Dastur Kaûs Najumi, Dastur Kaus Rustam Sanjana, and Rustam Manock (pp. 4-5). This Rivâyat is important because the writers thought of founding an Atash Behram in Surat. The questioners say that they had already with them a nusk or written MS. on the subject of preparing an Atash Behram. They seem to ask particulars afresh. (d) The list as given in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," page 212.

1 Vendidad VIII, 81-96.

2 15th January 1765.

Meher. They all were well dressed (lebâs i khûb pûshid, c. 667) and they put on panâm (padân) on their faces. They took the selected fires to the Dar-i Meher and recited Yazashna over them, in a loud voice (âvâz-i buland). The recital of the Avesta drove away the divs to Hell and pleased the Ameshaspands. The priests, who were engaged in consecration, did not go to their houses but remained in the Dar-i Meher. They recited the Yazashna and Vendidad over the 16 fires. When all the fires were consecrated, they were united on an âdusht.¹ This united consecrated fire became the Atash Behram and they placed fragrant fuel over it. God has said to friends² to take care of fire every where. It is better to place fuel over it at midnight.

May God keep joyful (shâdâb) Dastur Sohrab who did all that was requisite, as enjoined in books and (especially) as enjoined by God in the 8th kardeh (i.e., chapter of the Vendidad). If you will read the Zend (commentary) of the Vendidad, you will understand all the secrets (asrâr) about Fire. To all were given their wages or fees (môzd). He gave them double wages (dugâneh mozd dadeh) and all the priests were pleased with it. They all blessed Khurshid. During those unfortunate³ times, no body had done such work. All Behdins (laymen) had brought fires from all workshops (kâr-khanahâ) of the Jud-dins (aliens, non-Zoroastrians).

According to the Vendidad, the meritoriousness of

1 It is the stone slab upon which the fire-vase stands. The word is originally Pahlavi Âtashtô, from âdash and stâ to stand. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 273-274.

2 Laftan ? Laft لفت, a friend.

3 I think it is better to read the word as avârun "unfortunate." I have wrongly separated it and misread it in the text.

picking up a fire which burns a corpse is like that of setting in, in their proper places, (dar neshâni) 1000 (ordinary) fires. Similarly, the meritoriousness in the case of the second fire, viz., that of the workshop of a dyer, is equal to that of placing in its proper place (neshâyandeh ba dargâh) 1000 ordinary fires. Similarly, in the case of the fire of a hamâm (public bath), it is equal to that of setting (in dadgâh) 500 ordinary fires.

When the whole work of Atash Behram came to be finished, Dastur Sohrab informed Desai Enthroning the Sacred Fire. cc. 708-740. Khurshed of it, Sardar Khurshed said in reply:—"O wise Dastur! May you live long. I have got a proper dome (gunbad) prepared for the kingly Atashbehrâm. I will place the Atash Behram there. My desire will be fulfilled in that place. It was my desire that I see its (*i.e.*, of the Sacred Fire of Atash Behram) face (didâr) and that I pick up all joy from its face (rukhsâr)." Dastur Sohrab was much pleased to hear that. On roz Sarosh and month Ardi-behesht, 1135 Yezdezardi¹, the Atash Behram was enthroned on a throne of stone

This event took place in the time of Rao Kerdarji who was kind to his subjects and just. The first bui² ceremony over the Sacred Fire after the enthronement was performed by the Dastur (Dastur Sohrab). Then all the Dasturs and Mobads and Behedins joined in prayers. When the good news of the consecration of the Atash Behram reached different Parsee centres, people from there went to Naosari to pay their homage to the Sacred Fire. People from Surat, Broach and Anklesar went there with

1 2nd December 1765.

2 For this ceremony of bui (*i.e.*, giving fragrant fuel), *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 230-39.

their offerings (hadiyeh). All blessed Desai Khurshid who enthroned (nishānid) the Atash Behram.

The author then dwells upon the advantages of having Fire-temples. Their presence protects the people of their cities from harms from the evil-minded oppressors, thieves and robbers. Were it not for the good fortune arising from the presence in their midst of Fire-temples, people could not travel from city to city, free from the grasp of robbers and from the injustice of rulers. Zoroaster had asked King Gushtasp to found Fire-temples in all cities. Thereby prosperity and freedom from oppression will result to the people.

The author then offers his homage to God and gives, what he himself calls, a Munâjat, wherein he expresses all humility and prays for righteousness and joy.

The Munâjat of
the Author. cc.
749-765.

The author concludes with, what we may term, a colophon. He gives his place as Naosari and his name, letter per letter, as Shapur. His father was Manock, the son of Behram, who has taken his place in paradise for the purpose of rest (behr-i ārām). He gives his profession as that of a Mobad. He says, that he was descended from Dastur Neryôsang Dhaval.

The Author's
Colophon cc. 769.
773.

(To be continued.)

<i>khshāyathiya(h)</i>	<i>khshāyathiyānām</i>	<i>khshāyathiya(h)</i>
क्षत्रियः	क्षत्रियाणां	क्षत्रियः
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎢𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹
King	of Kings,	King

<i>Pārsaiy</i>	<i>khshāyathiya(h)</i>	<i>dahyunām</i>
पार्से	क्षत्रियः	दस्यूनां ¹
𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹
in Pārsa	King	of the countries,

<i>Vištāspahyā</i>	<i>puthra(h)</i>	<i>Arshāmahyā</i>
विश्तास्पस्य	पुत्रः	अर्शामस्य
𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹
Vištāspa's	son	Arshām's

<i>napā</i>	<i>Hakhāmanishiya(h)</i>
नप्ता	हखामनिशियः
² 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹
grandson,	the Achæmenide.

2. <i>Thātiy</i>	<i>Dārayava(h)ush</i>	<i>Khshāyathiya(h)</i>
शास्ति	दारयवहुः	क्षत्रियः
³ 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹
Says	Darius	the King

¹ दस्यू originally meant "country", then "a man of the country of the enemies", "demon", "thief" etc. It is masc. whereas Avesta 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹 is fem. The usual word 'देश' will be used hereafter, wherever suitable.

² Vd. 12-9; in Vd. 12-11 we have 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹.

³ Cf. 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹. Punegar suggests शंसति 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹𐎢𐎴𐎠𐎹.

• သ်းၤ ၵုၤသ်းၤ နီၣ်ဃာ်သ်းၤသ်းၤ • သ်းၤသ်းၤသ်းၤသ်းၤ
my father (was) Vishtāspa, Vishtāspa's

<i>pitā</i>	<i>Arshāma,</i>	<i>Arshāmahyā</i>	<i>pitā</i>
पिता	अर्शामः	अर्शामस्य	पिता
പിതാ	അർശാമഃ	അർശാമസ്യ	പിതാ
father (was)	Arshām,	Arshām's	father

[illegible][illegible]

3. *Thātiy*² etc. *Avahyarādiy* *vayam* *Īhkhāmanishiyā*
 अस्मात्-हि वयं ह्यहमनिशियाः

³ For this reason we Hakhbāmainishiya

1 Gathic 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 . 2 The expression Thātiy *etc.* occurs in the beginning of every para.

8 6/1 of 𐭠𐭣; 𐭠𐭣 = 1, (Persian). I take it as 𐭠𐭣 (𐭠𐭣) 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣. P. suggests 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 to be rendered as "through the giving of this."

adam	khshāyathiya	amiy.	A(h)uramazda ¹
अहं	क्षत्रियः	अस्मि.	अहुर्मैज्दः
𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹
I	King	am.	Ahuramazda

Khshathram	manā	frābara(h)
क्षत्रः	मम	प्रभरत.
𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
sovereignty	me	gave

6. Thātiy etc. Imā	dahyāva(h)	tyā	manā
इमाः	दस्यवः	त्याः	मम (मां)
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴	(𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴) 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴
These (are) countries which to me			

patiyāisha(n).	Vashnā	A(h)uramazdāha(h)
प्रत्यैष्यन्. ²	वासना	अहुर्मैज्दस्य
𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹
came.	By the grace	of Ahuramazda

adamshām ⁴	Khshāyathiya(h)	āham.
अहं	क्षत्रियः	आसम्
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹
I	King	became (lit. was).

(Here the names of 28 countries are given as under)

Pārsa(h) (=Persia), *(H)uvja(h)* (=Susiana), *Bābirush* (=Babylon), *Athur*³ (=Assyria), *Arabīya(h)* (=Arabia), *Mudrāya(h)* (=Misar, Egypt), *tyaiy drayahyā* (त्याः जयसः)

1 In Cuneiform, Ahuramazda has become one word. 2 Paul Horn takes it as aorist 3/8 from *i*. The Sk. form ऐष्यन् is conditional 3/8 of इ "to go." 3 See Yasna 46-19, 50-11. 4 *Sha* is an enclitic particle, Pahl. *ash*. 5 Coined on the analogy of 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹 (आसन) 3/8 of 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎴.

<i>Pārsa(h)</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>Māda(h)</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>aniyā</i>
पार्सान्	उत	मादान्	उत	अन्यान्
𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
to the Persians	and	Medians	and to	other

<i>dahyāva(h)</i>	<i>Khshathram</i>	<i>hauv</i>	<i>agrabāyatā</i> ¹
देशान्	क्षत्रं	असौ	अग्रभयत्
𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
provinces.	Kingdom	he	seized.

<i>Garmapadahyā</i>	<i>māhyā</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>rauchabish</i>
गर्मपदस्य	मासस्य	९	रुचिभिः (रुग्भिः)
𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
In Garmapada	month	with 9	days

<i>thakatā</i>	<i>āha(h)</i>	<i>khshathram</i>	<i>agrabāyatā</i> .
सक्ता (भिः)	आस	क्षत्रं	अग्रभयत्
𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
completing (it) was	(that) the kingdom	he	seized.

<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>Ka(n)bujiya(h)</i>	<i>(h)wā-marshlyush</i>
पश्चा वा	कंबुजियः	खमृत्युना
𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
Afterwards	Cambyses	by his own ⁴ death

amriyatā
अम्रियत⁵
𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
died.

1 In the Lexicon, Tolman reads agarbāyatā. 2 See Kanga's Dict. p. 166. Cf. Rv. 1-81-7 संग्रभाय. The root गृह्, प्रम् (Vedic) is as if of 10th class. See Yt. 5-65. 3 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (7/1 stem) (P.). 4 By a self-imposed death. 5 Pass. imperf. 3/1; अमृत Aor. 3/1. Av. form is pass. imperf. 3/1.

12. <i>Thātiya etc.</i> ,	<i>Aita(h)</i> एतत्	<i>khshathram</i> क्षत्रं	<i>tya</i> सत्
	That	kingdom	which
<i>Gaumātā(h)</i> गौमातः	<i>hya(h)</i> यः	<i>Magush</i> मगुः	<i>adinā</i> अदिनोत
Gaumata	who (was)	Magian,	took
<i>Ka(n)bujiyam</i> , कंबुजियं	<i>aita(h)</i> एतत्	<i>Khshathram</i> क्षत्रं	<i>hachā</i> सचा
from Kambujiya,	that	kingdom	from
<i>paruviyata(h)</i> पूरुवितः	<i>amākham</i> अस्माकं	<i>taumāyā</i> तोकमस्य or तोकम्यं	<i>āha(h)</i> आस
		or	
olden times	of our	family	was

Pasāva(h) Gaumāta(h) hya(h) Magush adinā Ka(n)bujiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva(h) (as above and in para 10). Afterwards Gaumāta who was M. took from K. Pars and Māda and other provinces.

<i>hauv</i> असौ	<i>āyastā</i> आयसत्	<i>(h)uvāipashiyam</i> स्वपतित्वं
He	seized (endeavoured and got)	self-government

1 Better *...* 2 See para 10. 3 Aor. 3/1 of *आ-यस्* endeavour. Imperfect 3/1 Atm. Cf. *...* (Kanga Grammar, p. 182). 4 One's-own-ness.

<i>puhra(h)</i> ,	<i>hauv</i>	<i>udapatatā</i>	<i>Bābirauv</i>
पुत्रः	असौ	उदपतत्	बाबिरौ
𐎶𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
son,	he	revolted	in Babylon.

<i>kāram</i>	<i>avathā</i>	<i>adurujiya(h):</i>	<i>Adam</i>
कारं	एवं अथं	अदुरुज्यत्	अहं
𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
The army	thus	(he) deceived:	I

<i>Nabukudrachara(h)</i>	<i>amiy,</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
नबुकुदरचरः	अस्मि,	यः
𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
Nebuchadnezzar	am,	who (am)

<i>Nabunaitahyā</i>	<i>puhra(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>kāra(h)</i>
नबुनैतस्य	पुत्रः	पश्वा वा	कारः
𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
Nabunaita's	son.	Then the army (people)	

<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>Bābiruvīya(h)</i>	<i>haruva(h)</i>	<i>abiy</i>
यः	बाबिरुवियाः	सर्वाः	अभि
𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
who (was)	Babylonian	all	to

<i>avam</i>	<i>Nadi(n)tabairam</i>	<i>ashiyava(h)</i>
एनं	नदिन्तबरं	अशियवत्
𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠	𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠
that	Nidintu-Bel	went (over).

1 Cf. 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 Kanga's Gr. p. 81. 2 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 1/5 ibid. p. 157. We may also adopt the singular 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠, 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠.

Adamshim

अहं तं

avājanam.

अवाहनम्

.64.64.64

him I

.64.64.64

slew.

18. *Thātiy etc.,**Pasāva(h)**adam*

पश्चा वा

अहं

.64.64.64

Afterwards

.64.64.64

I

Bābirum

बाबिरं

ashiyavam

अच्यवम्

abiy

अभि

avam

एनं

.64.64.64

to Babylon

.64.64.64

went

.64.64.64

against

.64.64.64

that

Nadi(n)tabairam,

नदिन्तबैरं,

hya(h)

यः

Nabuk(u)drachara(h)

नबुकुद्राचारः

.64.64.64

Nidintu-Bel,

.64.64.64

who

.64.64.64

Nebuchadnezzar

*agaubatā.*अगोपयत्,²*Kāra(h)*

कारः

hya(h)

यः

.64.64.64

called (himself).

.64.64.64

The army⁴

.64.64.64

which (was)

Nadi(n)tabairahyā

नदिन्तबैरस्य

Tigrām

तिग्रां

adāraya(h)

अधारयत्

.64.64.64

of Nidintu-Bel

.64.64.64

the Tigris

.64.64.64

held,

¹ Or better 64.64.64 on the analogy of 64.64.64 Kanga's Gr. p. 141. ² Imperf. 8/1 of गुप् to speak 10 cl. It may also be of 1st cl. ³ Causal of 64.64.64. Punegar suggests 64.64.64. ⁴ Here Tolman also translates *Kāra* as "army". ⁵ Imperf. 8/1 of 64.64.64. See Kanga's Dic. p. 247.

<i>vāsiy</i>	<i>Āthriyādiyahya</i>	<i>māhyā</i>	XXVI
उशीभिः	आत्रियादियस्य	मासस्य	२६
1. 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
utterly	in Āthriyādiya	month	with 26

<i>rauchabish</i>	<i>thakatā</i>	<i>āha(h)</i>	<i>avathā</i>
रुचिमः	सक्ता (भिः)	आस	एवं अथ
𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
days	completing	was that	thus

<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>akumā</i>
समरं	अकुर्म
𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
the battle	we made.

19. *Thātiy* *Dārayava(h)ush* *khshāyathiya(h)*

<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>Bābirum</i>	<i>ashiyavam.</i>
पश्वा वा	अहं	बाबिरं	अशियवम्
𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
Afterwards	I	to Babylon	went.

<i>Abiy⁴</i>	<i>Bābirum</i>	<i>yathā</i>	<i>naiy</i>	<i>upāyam,</i>
अभि	बाबिरं	यथा	नहि	उपायं,
𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
To	Babylon	when	I had not	(yet) gone,

1 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (P.) 2 See para 11. 3 In Sk. 𐎠 is of the 8th class and 5th cl. In Av. 𐎠 is of 5th cl. only. The inscrip-
tional form is allied to Sk. here. In para 14 it is of 8th cl.
4 In the Lexicon Tolman remarks that the *athiy* अथैव should
be read in place of *abiy*. 5 Compare 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 8/1 of 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
Kanga's Dic. p. 86.

<i>Nadi(n)tabairam</i>		<i>agrabāyam.</i>	
नदिन्तवैरं		अग्रभयम्	
نَدِيْنْتَابَايَرَامْ		اَغْرَبَايَمْ or اَغْرَبَايَمْ	
Nidintu-Bel		I seized.	
<i>Paśāva(h)</i>	<i>avam</i>	<i>Nadi(n)tabairam</i>	<i>adam</i>
पाशा वा	अवन्	नदिन्तवैरं	अहं
پَاشَاوَا اَوَامْ نَدِيْنْتَابَايَرَامْ	اَدَامْ	نَدِيْنْتَابَايَرَامْ	اَدَامْ
Afterwards	that	Nidintu-Bel	I
<i>Bābirauv</i>	<i>acājanam.</i>		
बाबिरौ	अकाहनम्		
بَابِيرَاوْ	اَكَاچَانَمْ		
in Babylon	slew.		
2. <i>Thātiy etc.,</i>	<i>Yātā</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>Bābirauv</i>
	यदा	अहं	बाबिरौ
	ثَاتِيْ	اَدَامْ	بَابِيرَاوْ
	While	I	in Babylon
<i>āham</i>	<i>īmā</i>	<i>dāhyāva(h)</i>	<i>tyū</i>
आसम्	इमे	दाह्यावः (इसाः)	त्ये
اَہَمْ	اِمَہْ	دَاہْیَاوَا (اِسَا)	تْیُو
was,	these (were)	the provinces,	which
<i>hachāma(h)</i>	<i>hamithriyā</i>	<i>abara(n)</i>	
सचा मत्	अमित्रियाः	अभवन ।	
حَاچَامَا	ہَمِثْرِیَا	اَبَارَا	
with me	inimical	became—	
<i>Pārsa(h), (H)uvja(h), Māda(h), Athura, Mudrāya(h),</i>			
Persia, Susana, Media, Assyria, Egypt,			

1 The form I/I Imperf. of ܐܘܡ is not available. But on the analogy of ܐܘܡ which is Imperf. 3/3 subj. of ܐܘܡ, we have ܐܘܡ. 2 ܐܘܡܐܝܢܐ (P.).

COLUMN II.

1. <i>Thātīy etc.</i> ,	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>Nadi(n)tabaira(h)</i>	
	पश्चा वा	नदिन्तवैरः	
	Then	Nidintu-Bel	
<i>hadā</i>	<i>kamnaibish</i>	<i>asbāribish</i>	<i>abiy</i>
सह	कतिभिः	अश्वपालिः (अश्ववहैः)	अभि
with	a few	horsemen	to
<i>Bābirum</i>	<i>ashiyavā(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>adam</i>
बाबिरुम्	अशियवत्	पश्चा वा	अहं
Babylon	went.	Afterwards	I
<i>Bābiram</i>	<i>ashiyavam.</i>	<i>Vashkā</i>	
बाबिरम्	अशियवम्,	वासना	
to Babylon	went.	By the grace	
<i>A(h)uramazdāhā(h)</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>Bābirum</i>	
अहुरामज्दस्य	उत	बाबिरम्	
of Ahuramazda	even	Babylon	
<i>agrabāyam,</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>avam</i>	
अग्रभयम्	उत	एनं	
I seized	and	that	

1 See I-18. 2 No such compound exists in extant

Avesta. P. suggests *ashiyavā(h)*. 3 Or *ashiyavā(h)*. 4 Cf. I-18.5 See *ashiyavā(h)* Kanga's Dic. p. 767.

<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>upā</i>	<i>mām</i>	<i>āha(h)</i>
यः	उप	मां	आस
𐎧𐎶𐎵	𐎧𐎶𐎵	𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎴	𐎠𐎡𐎴
which	with	me	was,

<i>hauv</i>	<i>kamnam</i>	<i>āha(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>
असौ	कतिपयः	आस	पश्चा वा
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶	¹ 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶
the same	small	was.	Afterwards

<i>adam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>frāīshayam.</i>
अहं	कारं	प्रैश्यम्
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶	² 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶
I	an army	sent.

<i>Vidarna(h)</i>	<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>Pārsa(h)</i>	<i>manā</i>
विदर्णः	नाम्ना	पार्सः	मम
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶
Vidarna (Hydarnes)	named	Persian	(was) my

<i>ba(n)daka(h),</i>	<i>avamshām</i>	<i>mathīshām</i>
बद्धकः	एवं	महिष्टं
³ 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶 or 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶
subject	out of them, this	great (=leader)

<i>akunavam.</i>	<i>Avathāshām</i>	<i>athakam:</i>
अकरवम्	एवं अथ तेषां	अशासम्:
𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶	𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶
I made.	Thus to them	I said:

1 The adjective should be 1/1 or this word may be an adverb. Possibly neuter 1/1 (P.). 2 1/1 imperf. of 𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎶 4th cl. (See Kanga's Dic. p. 92 and Gr. p. 203). 3 See I-7.

4. *Thātiya etc.*

Adakaiy

adam

ashnaiy

अद्य चैव

अहं

अश्नाय-अजनाय¹

•६३३३३३ or •६३३३३३ •६३३३३३ •६३३३३३

Then

I

on the march

āham

abiy

(H)*uvjam.*

Pasāva(h)

आसम्

अभि

हुव्जम् ।

पश्चा वा

•६६३३३३ •६६३३३३ •६६३३३३ •६६३३३३

was (i.e. marched)

to

Huvja.

Then

hachāma(h)

atarsa(n)

(H)*uvjīyā.*

सचा मत्

अत्रसन्

हुव्जियाः

•६६३३३३ •६६३३३३

•६६३३३३ •६६३३३३

•६६३३३३ •६६३३३३

from (of) me

were afraid

the people of Huvja.

avam Martiyam

agrabāya(n)

hyashām

एनं

मर्त्यं

अग्रभयन्

त्यः तेषां

•६६३३३३ •६६३३३३ •६६३३३३ •६६३३३३

That

Martya

they seized.

(He) who their

1 अजनं = going. Bartholomae regards *ashnaiy* as 7/1 meaning "march" (See Tolman's Lexicon p. 72) 2 Gatha 29-2. 3 On the analogy of •६६३३३३ •६६३३३३ = driving. Punegar suggests •६६३३३३ from √ •६६३३३३ "to pervade". 4 See II-2. 5 On the analogy of •६६३३३३ 6th cl. Imperf. 3/3. We have •६६३३३३ as imperfect 3/3 subj. Punegar suggests •६६३३३३ (1st Class). 6 •६६३३३३ (P.) 7 Just as 8/8 Imperf. of •६६३३३३ is not •६६३३३३ but •६६३३३३ (Kanga's Gr. p. 182), so we cannot have •६६३३३३, but •६६३३३३. 8 6/8 of 3rd. pers. pron. is not available; but on the analogy of •६६३३३३ (ऐतेषाम्) we get •६६३३३३ (तेषाम्).

<i>mathishta(h)</i>	<i>āha(h);</i>	<i>utāhīm</i>	<i>avājāna(n)</i>
मथिस्तः	आस;	उत तं	अवाहन
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
leader	was;	and him	they killed.

5. <i>Thātiy etc.,</i>	1	<i>martiya(h)</i>	<i>Fravartish</i>
	१	मर्त्यः	फ़रवर्तिः
	।	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
	One	man	Fravarti

<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>Māda(h),</i>	<i>haw</i>	<i>udapatatā</i>
नाम्ना	मादः,	असौ	उदपतत्
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
by name	(was) Median.	He	revolted

<i>Mādaiy,</i>	<i>kārahyā</i>	<i>avathā</i>	<i>athaha(h):</i>
मादे,	कारस्य	एवं अथ	अशासत्
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
in Media;	to the army	thus	he said:

<i>Adam</i>	<i>Khshathrita(h)</i>	<i>amiy</i>	<i>(H)uvakhshatrahyā</i>
अहं	क्षथ्रितः	अस्मि	हुवक्षत्रस्य
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
I	Khshathrita	am	Cyaxare's

<i>taumāyā.</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>kāra(h)</i>	<i>Māda(h)</i>
तोमयः	पश्वा वा	कारः	मादः
𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹
descendant.	Then	the army	Median

1 We have the form 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎡𐎹 in Vd. 8-74. See Kanga's Dic. p. 187. 2 See I-13.

<i>apaḍā</i>	<i>hamanānam</i>	<i>akunaush</i>	<i>hadā</i>
अपतः	समरं	अकरोत्	सह
• 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹	¹ 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	² 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
there	a battle	he made	with

<i>Mādaibish.</i>	<i>Hya(h)</i>	<i>Mādaishuvā</i>	<i>mathishā(h)</i>
मादैः	यः	मावेषु	महिष्ठः
³ 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
the Medians.	Whoso among the Medians		great

<i>āha(h),</i>	<i>hauv</i>	<i>adakaiy</i>	<i>naiy</i>
आस	असौ	अद्य चैव	नैव
𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
was,	he	even then	did not

<i>adāraya(h)</i>	<i>A(h)uramazdāmai</i>	<i>upastām</i>	<i>abara(h)</i>
अधारयत्			
⁴ 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹			
hold (his ground).	Ahura Mazda	me	assistance gave

vashnū A(h)uramazdāha(h) kārā(h) hya(h) Vidarnahyā
By grace of Ahuramazda, the army which was Vidarna's⁷

<i>avam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>tyam</i>	<i>hamitriyam</i>
तं	कारं	त्यं	अमैत्रेयं
𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	⁸ 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
that	army	which (was)	inimical

1 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (P.) 2 Vd. 2-6, Kanga's Dic. p. 126. 3 Cf. 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 Kanga's Gr. p. 68. 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (P.) 4 See Kanga's Gr. p. 69. 5 See § 4. 6 Ys. 81-7 Kanga's Dic. p. 247. Tolman translates thus:—"He did not then hold (the army) faithful." This does not seem correct. 7 See I-19. 8 𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (P.).

ha(n)gmūtā *paraitā* *patish*
 (समस्त) (सिन्धु) प्रताः प्रति
 met together (and) marched against

Dādarshim *hamaranam* *charatanaiy.*
 दादर्शि समरं करणाय
Dadarshi battle to make.

Tigra(h) *nāmā* *didā* *Armanīyaiy*
 तिग्रः नाम्ना देही अर्मिने
Tigra named fortress (there is) in Armenia

avadā *hamaranam* *akunava(n).*
 अवतः समरं अकुर्वन्
 there battle they made.

A(h)uramazdāmaiṣ upastām abarā(h). *Vashnā A(h)ura-*
 Ahuramazda me assistance gave. By grace of
mazdāha(h) kārā(h) hya(h) manā avam kāram
 Ahuramazda the army which (was) mine, that army
tyam hamithriyam aja(n) vasiy. *Thuravāharahya*
 which (was) inimical killed utterly. In Thuravāhara
māhyā XVIII rauchabish thakatā āha(h)
 month with 18 days completing (it) was (that)
avathashām hamaranam krtam.
 thus with them battle was made.

1 See II-7. 2 In Av. we have *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀* in Vd. 8-18, meaning "enclosure." Paul Horn notes that it is not identical with Mod. P. *diz* or *dish* "fortress," but belongs to Av. *daōza* in *pāiri daōza*.

<i>manā</i>	<i>naiy</i>	<i>gaubataiy</i>	<i>avam</i>	<i>jadiy.</i>
मम	नहि	गोपयति	एनं	जहि
𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

(and) mine (does) not call (itself), the same smite."

<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>Dādarshish.</i>	<i>ashiyava(h).</i>
पश्चा वा	दादर्षिः	अशियवत्.
𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

Afterwards Dādarshi went.

<i>Yathā</i>	<i>Arminam</i>	<i>parārasa(h)</i>	<i>pasāva (h)</i>
यदा	अर्मिनम्	प्रार्षित्	पश्चा वा
𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

When Armenia he reached then

<i>hamithriyā</i>	<i>ha(n) gmatā</i>
अमैत्रेयाः	समगमन्त or संगताः
𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓 or 𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

the enemies met together (and)

<i>paraitā</i>	<i>patish</i>	<i>Dādarshim</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>
प्रेताः	प्रति	दादर्षि	समरं
𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓	𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

went against Dādarshi battle

1 See II-6 𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓 (P.) 2 Ys. 9-80; see Kanga's Dic. p. 187. 3 See II-6. 4 See Vd. 2-9, Kanga's Dic. p. 164, past participle, Gr. p. 268, समगमन्त 3/8 imperf. Punegar suggests 𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓 5 See II-7. Cf. 𑀕𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓 Kanga's Dic. p. 87.

dhartaniy.	Zuza(h)	nāma(n)	āvahanam
करणाय.	हुतः	नाम्ना	आवसनं or हुतनं
to make.	Zuza	named	village

Armaniyaiy.	avadā	hamaranam	akunava(n).
अर्मिने	अवतः	समरं	अकुर्वन्.
(was) in Armenia.	There	battle	they made.

*A(h)uramazdāmai*y upastām abara(h) vashnā
 Ahuramazda me assistance gave. By grace
A(h)uramazdāha(h) kārā(h) hya(h) mānā avam kāram
 of Ahuramazda, the army which(was)mine, that army
tyam hamithriyam aja(n) vāsiy. Thuravāharāhya
 which (was) inimical killed utterly. In Thuravāhara
māhyā VIII rauchabish thakatā āha(h), avathāshām
 month 8 days completing (it) was that thus with them
*hamaranam krtam*³.
 battle was made.

8. *Thātiya etc. Patiy dūvitiyam hamithriyā*
 प्रति द्वितीयं अमैत्रेयाः

 Again a second time the enemies

1 See I-19. 2 In Sk. we have the word वसनं. In Av. the word is used to mean "garment" in Vd. 4.49 etc., from root वस् (वस्) to wear; but the same root also means "to dwell." Hence may mean "dwelling", same as Sk. वसन "dwelling". 3 See I-18, II-6. 4 *Patiy*, "again". 5 Cf. Vd. 1-4 etc. See Kanga's Dic. p. 374. It is an adverb. See I-4. (P.)

<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>frāishayam</i>
पश्चा वा	अहं	कारं	प्रेष्यम्
• ६५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ६६ ॥	• ६६ ॥	• ६६ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
Afterwards	I	an army	sent
<i>tyaipatīy,</i>	<i>Fravartīsh</i>	<i>agrabāyatā</i> ²	
तस्मै प्रति,	प्रवर्तिः	अग्रभायत	
• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
against him.	Fravartish	was caught	
<i>anayatā</i>	<i>abiy</i>	<i>mām.</i>	<i>Adamshaiy utā</i>
अनीयत ⁴	अभि	माम्	अहं तस्य उत
• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
(and) brought	to	me.	also I his
<i>nāham</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>gaushā</i>	<i>utā (h)izuvam</i> ⁵
नासां	उत	घोषौ	उत जिह्वाम्
• ६६ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
nose	and	ears	and tongue
<i>frājanam,</i>	<i>utāshaiy</i>	<i>chashma</i> ⁶	<i>arajam.</i>
प्राहनम्	उत तस्य	चक्षु	अवाहनम्
• ६६ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
cut off,	and his	eyes	I smote.
<i>Duvarayāmai</i>	<i>basta(h)</i>	<i>adāriy</i>	<i>haruvashim</i>
द्वार मे	बद्धः	अधारि	सर्वः तं
• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥	• ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५५ ॥
To my court	bound he was brought.	All	him

1 I-17. 2 Read *agarbita* or *āgarbita*. 3 I-16. Here it is passive. 4 I-17. 5 In the Lexicon, Tolman adopts the reading *harbanam*, New Persian *zaban*, "tongue". 6 The word is read (*u*)*chasham*, the word *u* being a word divider (Tolman's Lexicon p. 75). 7 See I-17. 8 Sing. for dual. See Kanga's Gr. p. 104. 9 I-17. 10 I-9.

<i>avam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>jadiy</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>naiy</i>
तं	कारं	जहि	यः	मम	नैव
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
that	army	smite,	which	mine	does not
<i>gaubataiy.</i>		<i>Pasāva(h)</i>		<i>Dādarshish</i>	
गोपयति		पश्चा वा		दादर्शिः	
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
call (itself)."		Afterwards		Dādarshi	
<i>hadā</i>	<i>kārā</i>	<i>ashiyava(h)</i>		<i>hamaranam</i>	
सह	कारेण	अच्यवत्		समरं	
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
with the army		went,		(and) battle	
<i>akunaush</i>	<i>hadā</i>	<i>Margayaibish</i>			
अकरोत् (अकृणोत्) ²	सह	मर्गमिः ³			
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
made	with	Margians. ⁴			

Ahuramazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, the army which was mine smote the army, which (was) inimical, utterly. Of Atryāditya month 23rd day it was, that thus with them battle was made.

4. *Thātiya etc.*⁵

Afterwards the province mine became. This is that which was done by me in Bactria.

5. <i>Thātiya etc., I</i>	<i>martiya(h)</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
	मर्त्यः	वह्यसूदातः
𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎	𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎
(There was) 1	man	Vahyazdāta

1 𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎 (P.). 2 See II-14. 3 Supposing the word to be मर्ग and not मर्ग cf. विद्मिः. 4 Then follows the usual passage. 5 As in para 2 above.

*nāma(n)*¹ *Tāravā* *nāma(n)* *vardanam* *Yutiya*
 नाम्ना तारवा नम्निः वर्धनं युतिया
 .نما(ن) .تاروا .نما(ن) .واردانام .يوتيا
 named, (there is) Tāravā named city. (There is) Yutiya

nāmā *dahyāush* *Pārsaiy*, *aradā*
 नाम्ना दस्युः पार्से, अवत
 .ناما .داهياوش .پارسي .ارادا
 named district in Parsa, there (of that)

adāraya(h). *Ilav* *durityam* *udapatatā*
 अधारयत् असौ द्वितीयं उदपतत्
 .اداريا(ه) .إلاو .دريتم .ودپاتاتا
 he took possession. He a second time revolted

Pārsaiy *kārahya* *arathā*
 पार्से कारस्य गेत्रं अथ
 .پارسي .کارس .اراثا
 in Parsa. To the army thus

athaha(h): *Adam* *Bardiya(h)* *amiy*
 अशासत् अहं बर्दियः अस्मि
 .اثاها(ه) : .آدم .بارديا(ه) .امی
 he said: "I Bardiya am

hya(h) *Kuraush* *puthra(h)* *Pasāva(h)* *kāra(h)*
 यः कूरो; पुत्रः पश्वा वा कारः
 .هيا(ه) .کوراوش .پوترا(ه) .پاساوا(ه) .کارا(ه)
 who (is) Kuru's son." Afterwards the army,

1 In the Lexicon Tolman everywhere reads *nāma*. 2 See I-18. "he dwelt" (Tolman). 3 See II-8 .پارسا (P.). 4 Other forms are .پارسا and .پارسا (See Kanga's Dic. p. 518).

<i>Pārsa(h)</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>vithāpatiy</i>	<i>hachā</i>
पार्सः	यः	विशा प्रति	सचा
𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡	𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹 ¹ 𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹
Persian,	which	was at home	with
<i>yadāyā(h)</i>	<i>fraiarta(h).</i>	<i>Hauv</i>	<i>hachāma(h)</i>
यजसा	प्रातरत्	असौ	सचा मत्
𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
reverence went over (to the enemy). He			with me

<i>hamithriya(h)</i>	<i>abava(h),</i>	<i>abiy</i>	<i>uvam</i>
अमैत्र्यः	अभवत्	अभि	तं
𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹
inimical	became (and) to	that	
<i>Vahyazdātam</i>	<i>ashiyava(h).</i>	<i>Haur</i>	<i>khshāyathīya(h)</i>
वह्यश्चदातं	अच्यवत्	असौ	क्षत्रियः
𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
Vahyazdāta	he went (over).	He	king

<i>abara(h)</i>	<i>Pārsaīy.</i>
अभवत्	पार्से
𐎶𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
became	in Pārsa.

6. *Thātiy etc., Pasāva(h)* *adam* *kāram* *Pārasam*
 पश्चा वा अहं कारं पार्से
 𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹

Afterwards I the army (which was) Persian

1 3/1 of 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹. *Paity* governs acc. instrumental, dat. etc. Here 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹=home; in the palace. 2 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (P.) 3 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 Kanga's Dic. p. 220; 𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 (P.) "The Persian army which (was) in the palace cast aside their loyalty" (Tolman Lexicon).

utā Mādam frāishayam hya(h) upā mām
 उत मादं फ़ैशयं यः उप मां

and Median sent that (which) with me

āha(h). Artavardiya(h) nāma(n) Pārasa(h) manā
 आस अर्तवर्दिय नाम्ना पार्सः मम

was. Artavardiya named Persian (who was) my

ba(n)daka(h), avamṣhām mathīstam akunavam,
 बद्धकः तं मदिष्ठं अकरवम्

subject, him chief I made

hya(h) aniya(h) kāra(h) Pārasa(h)
 यः अन्यः कारः पार्सः

That (which) (was) other army, Persian

*pasā manā ašhiyava(h) Mādam * * * * 1*
 पश्च मम अश्यवत् मादम्

after me went to Media.

Yathā Pārasam parārasa(h), Rakā²
 यथा पार्स प्राषित् रका

When to Pārsa he went, Rakā

1 In the Lexicon Tolman reads *Pasīva(h) Artavardiya(h) hadī kārī ašhiyava(h) Pārsam* in lieu of the gap. 2 Rakhā (Tolman).

<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>vardanam</i>	<i>Pārsaiy,</i>	<i>avadā</i>	
नाम्ना	वर्धनं	पार्से	अवतः	
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	
named	city (there was)	in Pārsa,	there	
<i>hauv</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>Bardiya(h)</i>	
असौ	वह्यज्जदातः	यः	बर्दियः	
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	
that	Vahyazdāta	who	Bardiya	
<i>agaubatā,</i>	<i>āish</i>	<i>hadā</i>	<i>kārā</i>	<i>patish</i>
अगोपयत	ऐश्	सह	कारेण	प्रति
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴
called (himself)	came	with	army	against
<i>Artavardiyam</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>chartanaiy</i>		
अर्तवर्दियं	समरं	करणाय		
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴		
Artavardiya	battle	to make.		

*Pasava(h) etc.*⁵

Translation:—Afterwards battle was made. Ahura-mazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, I smote utterly the army, which was of Vahyaz-dāta. It was on the 12th day of the month Thuravāhar, when battle was made with them they⁶

7. <i>Thātiya' etc.</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>hauv</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>
	पश्चा वा	असौ	वह्यज्जदातः
	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴	𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴
	Then	that	Vahyazdāta

1 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 (P.) 2 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 (P.) See II-12. 3 Cf. 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 Kanga's Gr. p. 67. 4 𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 (P.) 5 As in II-12. 6 See II-10.

<i>hadā</i>	<i>kamnaibish</i>	<i>asabāribish</i>	<i>amutha(h)</i>
सह	कतिभिः	अश्वपालैः or अश्ववहैः	अमुतः
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	¹ 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	² 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴
with	a few	horsemen:	from there
<i>ashiyava(h)</i>	<i>Paishiyā(h)uvādām,</i>	<i>hachā</i>	
अच्यवत्	पैश्याहुवादाम्	सचा	
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	
went (fled)	to Paishiyā-huvadā.	From	
<i>avadasha(h)</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>āyasatā</i>	<i>hyāparam</i>
अवतः	सः	कारं	आयसत्
			यत् परं
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴
there	he an army	seized.	After this
<i>āish</i>	<i>patish</i>	<i>Artavardiyam</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>
ऐत्	प्रति	अर्तवर्दियं	समरं
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴
he went	against	Artavardiya	battle
<i>chartanaiy.</i>	<i>Prga(h)</i>	<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>kaufa(h)</i>
करणाय	प्रगः	नाम्ना	कूपः ⁵
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴
to make.	(There is) Praga	named	mountain:
<i>avadā</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>akunava(n)</i>	
अवतः	समरं	अकुर्वन्	
𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴	
there	a battle	they made.	

Ahūramazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, the army which was mine, smote the army,

1 Cf. II 1. 2 See II-13 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎴 fled (P.) 3 See I-12. 4 I-19.
5 In Sk. कूप means "well", also "rock in the midst of a river."

<i>hauv</i>	<i>udapatatā,</i>	<i>Bābirauv</i>	<i>Dubāla</i>
सः	उदपतत्	बाविरौ	दुबाल
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
he	revolted	in Babylon.	Dubāla

<i>nāmā</i>	<i>dahyāush</i>	<i>hachā</i>	<i>avadusha(h)</i>
नाम्ना	दस्युः	सचा	अवतः सः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
named	a province	from	*here he

<i>hauv</i>	<i>udapatatā</i>	<i>arathā</i>	<i>adurujiya(h):</i>
असौ	उदपतत्	एवं अथ	अद्रुह्यत् :
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
he	revolted	(and) thus he	lied:

<i>Adam</i>	<i>Nabukudracha(h)</i>	<i>amiy,</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
अहं	नबुकुद्रचरः	अस्मि,	यः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
"I	Nebuchadnezzar	am,	who (is)

<i>Nabunaitahyā</i>	<i>puhra(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>kāra(h)</i>
नबुनैतस्य	पुत्रः	पश्चा वा	कारः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
Nabunaita's	son."	Afterwards	the army

<i>Babiruvīya(h)</i>	<i>hachāma(h)</i>	<i>hamithriya(h)</i>
बाविरुवियः	सचा मत्	अमैत्र्यः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
(which was) Babylonian	with me	inimical

One Nidintu-Bel named Babylonian (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Nebuchadnezzar, who am Nabunaita's son. He made Babylon inimical.

One Martiya named Persian (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Iwani, king of Huvja (Susiana). He made Susiana inimical.

One Fravarti named Median (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Khshathrita, Huvakhshatra's descendant. He made Media inimical.

One Chitra(n)takhma named Sagartian (there) was; he lied and said thus:—I am king in Sagartia, descendant of (H)uvakhshatra. He made Sagartia inimical to me.

One Frāda(h) named Margianian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am king in Margu (Margiana). He made Margiana inimical.

One Vahyazdāta named Persian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am Bardiya, who (am) the son of Kuru. He made Pārsa inimical.

One Arakha(h) named Arminian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am Nebuchadnezzar, who (am) Nabunait's son. He made Babylon inimical.

3. <i>Thātiy etc.</i> ,	<i>Imaiy</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>khshāyathiyā</i>	<i>adam</i>
	इमान्	९	क्षत्रियान्	अहं
	𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹
	These	9	kings	I

<i>agrabāyam</i> ,	<i>a(n)tar</i>	<i>imā</i>	<i>hamaranā</i>
अग्रभयम्	अन्तर	ईमान्	समरान्
𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎡𐎹
seized,	in	these	battles.

<i>avam</i>	<i>hubrtam</i> ¹	<i>abaram</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
एनं	सुभृतं	अभरम्,	यः
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
him	well-supported ³	I supported, (and he) who	
<i>riyanā(sa)ya</i>	<i>avam</i>	<i>(h)ufrastam</i>	<i>aprsam</i>
विनाशकः	एनं	सुपृष्टं	अपृच्छम्
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
(was a) destroyer	him	well-punished	I punished.
14. <i>Thatiy etc., Tavam</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>khshāyathiya(h)</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
	त्वं	कः	क्षत्रियः
	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
	Thou whatever		king who
<i>aparam</i>	<i>ahy,</i>	<i>mārtiya(h)</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
अपरं	असि,	मर्त्यः	यः
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
later on wilt become	the man	who	deceiver
<i>ahatiy.</i>	<i>hyavā</i>	<i>Zarukara(h)</i>	<i>ahatiy</i>
अस्ति,	यः	ज्वरकरः	अस्ति
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
is,	whō	wrong-doer	is
<i>mā</i>	<i>daushtā, avaiy</i>	<i>(h)ufrashtādiy</i> ⁸	<i>prsa</i>
मा	जुष्टः	सः	सुपृष्टः
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌
not	friend	him	well-punished
			punish

1 Read *hubartam*; similarly *aparsam*. 2 Coined from verbal form 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌. 3 Or well-esteemed. I brought him a good gift (P.) 4 See IV-5. 5 See IV-5. 6 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 (P.) 7 The mas. sing. form of 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌 is not to be found. We have given the plural form. 8 This is Tolman's reading in Ancient Persian Lexicon. He in his Persian Inscriptions and Paul Horn read "*ahifrashtādiy*" = sword questioning, punishment with sword. In the Lexicon Tolman takes "*adiy*" as a prep. with loc. *in*.

15. *Thātiy etc., Tuvam kā hya(h) aparam imām*

त्वं कः यः अपरं इमां

· ६७९० · ७३ · ७३० · ६१-७७-७७ · ६७९०

Thou whosoever hereafter this

dipim vaināhy, tyām adam niyapisham,

लिपिम् वेनसि त्वां अहं न्यपिषम्

· ६७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७ · ६७९० · ६१-७७-७७ · ६७९०

inscription shalt see which I have inscribed

imaivā patikarā mātya vikanāhy,

इमान् प्रतिकारान्¹ मा त्वान् विख सि²

· ६७९० · ७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७९० · ७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७

(and) these sculptures, shall not destroy them.

yavā jivāhy avā avaiy paribarā.³

यावत् जीवसि तावत् तान् परिभर

· ६७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७

As long as thou livest, so long them protect.

16. *Thātiy etc., Yadiy imām dipim vaināhy*

यदि इमां लिपिम् वेनसि

· ७७७७७७७७७७७ · ६७९० · ६७७७७७७७७७७

If this inscription thou shalt see

imaiva patikarā naiydish

इमान् प्रतिकारान् नैव तान्

· ७७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७७ · ७७७७७७७७७७७

(and) these sculptures and shall not

1 प्रतिकायान् would be better, as it means "pictures".

2 Pre. tense used as imper. 3 Tolman and Paul Horn read "parikarā". Tolman in his "Lexicon" says that the reading is wrong, it should be "paribarā". It is of 1st class.

SOME RECENT PAPERS ON SUBJECTS OF INDO-IRANIAN INTEREST. A FEW OBSERVATIONS.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

I

The October 1930 issue of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

The Chairman's interesting address, delivered by Sir Charles Todhunter, the Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, recommends, among other subjects, the study of Indian games and dances. In connection with what he says about the invention of the game of Chess by the wife of Ravan of Lanka, I may refer those interested in the subject to my paper giving the Iranian view of the game, which says, that it was invented in India for the solace of a weeping widow, who mourned the loss of one of her sons in a battle with his brother.¹ Caxton, the first English printer, gives two other versions about the origin and discovery of chess in his "The Game of Chess."

Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, in his "Dravidic Perspectives," says that "words expressive of the ideas of *direction* like 'here', 'there', 'front', 'back', 'above', 'below', are some of the most primitive in all languages. In the formation of such words, demonstrative particles and

1 *Vide* my paper "Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess" (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, p. 224-36. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 85-98).

elementary roots generally play an important part." I think that the following words in the Avesta (Moher Nyāish 11) illustrate these:

<i>Aiwi</i> (in aiwi-		<i>Upairi</i>	upper
dakhyûm)	outer	<i>Adhairi</i>	lower
<i>Antarê</i>	inner	<i>Pairi</i>	round about
<i>Ā</i>	near, lower	<i>Aipi</i>	back

As to the four sides, the author says: "The ideas of 'east', 'west', 'north' and 'south', however, indicate a slightly more advanced orientation and involve a more comprehensive sense of space and direction inasmuch as in these cases, the concrete ideas of direction have more or less become generalised and permanised. The rising and the setting of the sun form a familiar daily phenomenon which should have contributed to the permanisation of the ideas of 'east' and 'west'; 'north' and 'south' should have followed as corollaries and become fixed when the sense of direction became sufficiently advanced. It would be an interesting study to analyse the forms for east, west, south and north in different language-groups and determine the particular outlook of the peoples, which may have conditioned the formation of these words". As suggested by the author, I will examine here the Avesta group-words for these directions.

East.—The Avesta words for this direction is *ushangh* (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀) or *ushâ* (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀), which is same as Sans. उषस, Lat. *aurora*. It comes from the root *ush* 𐬰𐬀, Sans. उष, to shine. The word also means the dawn. So, the word signifies that direction whence the light of the Sun appears or whence the dawn comes. The words *ushahina* (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀), the period of time between midnight and the morning twilight, also comes from the same root.

West.—*Daoshatara* (دوشادرت). The word comes from *daosha* (دوش, Sans. दोषा, Pers. دوش, Fr. *dos*), *i.e.*, shoulder. When you are standing facing the sun in the east in the morning, the west is on your shoulder, *i.e.*, on your back.

South.—*Rapithwa* (رپتھوا). The word is a contraction of *ayarē pithwa* (آرپتھوا), *i.e.*, the *pitu* (پیتو) or *pithwa* (پتھوا), (Sans. पीठ, Eng. pith), the very pith or middle part of the day (*ayarē*), the very middle of the day. In the very middle of the day, the sun takes a southernly direction. Hence the name. In other languages also, the same word, which expresses mid-day, expresses 'south'; *e.g.*, نیم روز, *nimrûz*, *i.e.*, half day in Persian. Cf. Lat. *meridies*, Fr. *midi*. The same Avesta word represents a particular period of the day, from midday to 3 o'clock.

North.—*Apākh tara* (آپاختر), P. *bākhtar* باختر. The word comes from *apa* अप, Lat. *ab*, Gr. *ap*, far and *akhtara* (اختر), P. اختر, star. Thus, the word literally means "far towards the star".

The Avesta word for side or direction generally is *naēma* from *nī*, to lead, to show.

II

Doura-Eropos. Based on "Fouilles de Doura-Eropos (1922-23), par Franz Cumont. Paris 1926." By Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, Part I, 1930)

The interesting article is, as said by the writer, an "analysis of the monumental work of the Belgian archaeologist and savant M. Franz Cumont, which embodies the result of excavations made by him on the site of the ancient Mace-

donian colony of Doura-Eropos,...situated in the heart of the Syrian desert, near modern Salihyeh, on the right bank of the Euphrates. The colony was founded at the end of the 4th century B.C. by Nicanor, a general of Seleucus. M. Cumont's excavations have discovered new documents, showing, that Parthian civilization had penetrated into this region with its Parthian conquest and had influenced the sculptures, paintings, ceramics, jewellery and even the costumes of the people there. The colony, at one time, formed the country of Hana, more than 3000 years before Christ. It had subjugated Babylon in 2800 B.C. On the fall of the last Achæmenian king, Darius, who ruled over Syria, it fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The Greek name *Europos* was added to the name after the name of *Europos* in Macedonia, where Seleucus Nicator (312-280) was born.

The Syrian martyr Mar Mu'ain, who lived in the time of Shapur II, refers to this colony. The people of the desert-capital of Palmyra had once occupied the colony before its occupation by the Romans. The organization of Palmyrene army was based on that of the Persians. *Argapetes*, the title of the commandant, was Iranian. In the bas-reliefs of Palmyra, "the heroified dead are represented in banqueting scenes in the Persian festival costume".

In the times of the ascendancy of the Parthian Arsacides which lasted for about a few centuries, the Parthian influence on the colony was great. The colony then had "become a connecting link between big cities of the Parthian Empire in their commercial relations with one another. Thus many Iranian elements were introduced in the onomastics¹ of Doura, which, however, are very restricted, as the Parthians were represented mostly by

1 "Pertaining to or consisting of names."

artisans, merchants and functionaries." It seems that a system of registering documents prevailed in the colony. Eumenes II (195-158 B.C.) of Pergamum was, upto now, held to be the discoverer of parchments, but a document has been excavated in the colony bearing the date of about 195 B.C., thus showing, that parchment must have been discovered earlier than the time of Eumenes II.²

· In the matter of the organization of the family, the people of the colony, at first, practised endogamy. "Women married their consanguine brothers.....and.....uncles had their own nieces for wives. This endogamy, which is a contradiction of the whole constitution of *genos* (or families) based on the parentage through male offsprings, is a survival of the matriarchate.....This custom of consanguinous marriages... ..the inhabitants of Doura-Eropos had adopted most probably under the Parthian influence".

I think, that one need not speak of this practice as a "custom". Even if we take, that, cases of this kind of marriage did really occur among some Achæmenian kings, we must take them as rare cases and not as *custom*. As said by me, in my paper "A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S." (p. 102), we learn from Herodotus that, when Cambyzes consulted the judges, about a consanguinous marriage which he wanted to perform, they distinctly said that "they did not find any law allowing such marriages." (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Bk. III, 31.)

2 Dr. Unvala refers in a footnote to Herodotus (Bk. V, 58) saying that "the archives of the Achæmenian sovereigns were written on prepared skins". He also refers (a) to a similar statement in the *Ardai Virâf-nâme*h and (b) to the discovery of three parchments in the village of Auroman in Persian Kurdistan in 1909. The third of these three is a Pahlavi document of about 53-54 A.C.

III

**Origin of the Rajputs, The Nationality of the Gurjars, by
Niharranjan Ray.¹**

As Mr. N. Ray says: "There is now a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the Rajputs, like most of the Brahmans, were originally of non-Indian extraction and that the former were the descendants of foreign people who entered India about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., i.e., of the Hunas and the Gurjaras" (p. 117). There are two scholars who differ from this general consensus of opinion: (1) Mr. C. V. Vaidya (*vide* his History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vols. I and II), and (2) Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha (*vide* his Hindi History of Rajputana). Among the foremost of the adherents of the general consensus, is Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has written a good deal on the subject of Foreign Elements in the Indian population, a subject first referred to by Sir John Campbell in his Gazeteer. Mr. William Crooke, the editor of the new edition of the Annals of Rajasthan, also is on the side of the consensus. Mr. N. Ray meets in his article some of the objections of the opponents and thinks "that the Gurjaras appeared on the scene of Indian History by the middle of the 6th century A.D. along with the Hunas" (p. 118). Both these tribes, entering from the North-west, spread towards the East and the South. The Gurjars were the same as the Khazars of the West. Mr. Vaidya says that the Gurjars though "darker in complexion" are Aryans and therefore not foreigners, but our author says, that "the Aryans themselves were foreigners" and that "there were Aryan stocks outside India with non-Indian culture who poured into the

1 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Vol. XII, Part II.

country from time to time and became Hinduised" (p. 119). Mr. Vaidya takes the Khazars to be Mongolians. Mr. Ray refutes this view.

Mr. Jogendra Chandra Gosh's article in the same journal, entitled "Some additional Notes on Foreign elements in the Hindu Population" is interesting as an offshoot of the same subject.

I am inclined to the view, that the Gurjars, like the Huns, were foreigners who came here from the West, from the direction of Persia. I have spoken about the Huns, at some length, in my four papers relating to the Huns.¹ I have shown that the Huns who invaded India were Zoroastrian by religion. I have spoken about the Gurjars, at some length, in my Gujarati Lecture delivered before the Gujarat Vernacular Society at Ahmedabad in June 1929. I have spoken, at some length, about the association of the Rajputs, indirectly with the Iranians of the Sassanian times, in my Gujarati paper entitled "ઉદયપુર. રાજપુતાનાનું કેશમીર, તેની વસતી." (Oodeypur, the Kashmir of Rajputana. Its History) in the *Hindi Graphic* of 1929-30. From my study about these people, I am of opinion that the ancestors of these races were from the West, from the direction of the Caspian Sea.

IV

Antiquity of Tantricism, by Mr. Chintaram Chakravarti, M.A., Lecturer, Bethune College, Calcutta.

The author of this interesting book says that the Tantric Satkarmas (the six magical rites), "the use of

1 For the first paper, *vide* Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 65-80; for the second, *vide* Journal of the B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-95 (*Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-34). For the third and fourth papers, *vide* Proceedings of the 3rd Oriental Conference at Madras.

charms and amulets, the revolting rites of the Kaulas, use of intoxicating drugs for producing ecstasy, the belief in the efficiency of mantras, consisting, sometimes, of apparently unmeaning syllables, are found among various primitive people." As a matter of fact, some of these contributed essential parts to primitive religion all the world over. Some of these have continued their existence in the beliefs of some of the followers of the known great religions of the world. The Iranians had some belief in amulets. They had their *nirangs* or religious incantations. (For some of these, *vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 43-50, 122-130, 340-54; Part III, pp. 52-71.)

V

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar on "The Aryan Immigration into Eastern India."

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is an authority on the question of "Foreign Elements in the population of India". His recent article on "The Aryan Immigration into Eastern India"¹ is very interesting from the above point of view. The Asuras and the Magadhas of India are taken by many to be Iranians from the West. The Asuras are taken to be the followers of the old Ahurian religion of Ahura Mazda of Iran, and the Magadhas are the descendants of the ancient Iranian Magas, the chiefs of whom were Magu-paitis or Mobads. The article is interesting from the point of view of the contact of the Iranians with the Indians. So, I give (A), at first, a brief summary of the important part of the article and (B) then I will submit some observations.

1 The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XII, Part II, 1931.

According to the Rigveda, at the time when it was written, the Aryans had advanced upto the countries watered by the Ganges and the Jumna. At that time, a non-Aryan people named the Kikāṭas were settled in Magadha. Magadha is not mentioned in the Rigveda. It is first mentioned in the Atharvaveda (V. 22-14) "along with Aṅga where a wish is expressed that Fever (*takman*) may leave the Aryan land and infest the countries of such border tribes¹ as the Aṅgas and the Magadhas" (p. 103). Of these two alien tribes, the Aṅgas seem to have been taken into the fold of Aryan civilization after 900 B.C. but the Magadhas were admitted only a few years before the foundation of Buddhism (*i.e.*, about 600 B.C.). There were "Sixteen Great Countries" (Solasa-mahajanapadā) "into which that portion of India which was occupied by the Aryans was divided."² The eastern part of North Bihār, formed the country of the Aṅgas, and South Bihār, of which Rajagṛha was the capital, formed the country of the Magadhas. Magadha was a country of Buddhist activity. It was in the 6th century that Magadha and Aṅga were associated with Buddhism.

The boundary of the ancient Aryā-varta was as follows:—

On the North, Himālayas.

On the South, the Pāriyātra range.

On the East, Kālākā-vana.

On the West, Ādarsha.

1 Cf. The wish in the Avesta, that evil (*drukhsh*) may leave the place and go to "northern" (*apākhdra*) regions (Vend. VIII, 21)

P. 105. Vide Carmichael Lectures for 1918, p. 48.

The Kālakā-vana seems to have been situated in some country in the east of Bihār. This place seems to have taken its name from Kālakā, the daughter of the Asura Vaishvānara, who had, with her sister, given birth to 60,000 Dānavas. The Kālakā-vana may be identified with modern Jhādakhaṇḍa on the south of Gayā in Bihār. The "ancient name of Bihār was Prācyā, which was the country of Asuras" (p. 108). The above Kālakā was an "Asura princess and mother of several Asura warriors" (p. 108). The country of Ādarsha (the Adraistai of Arrian and the Adrēstai of Diodorus), which formed the Western boundary of the ancient Arya-varta, seems to be the country between the Ravi and the Beas in Punjab.

The people of the country outside the above Arya-varta, having not come into "the pale of Vedic civilization", the people of Arya-varta were forbidden to go to that foreign country (p. 109). If they did, they had to go through a purifying rite. Much of the above information about Arya-varta is gathered from the Baudhāyana-Dharmśāstra, written in about the 4th century B.C., by which time the Aṅgas and Magadhas were Aryanised but not completely Brahmanised. Puṣyamitra, a Brahmin king, who ruled at Pataliputra, directed that the country of Aṅga may be completely Brahmanised.

The Vāyupurāṇa, later on, speaks of Bhāratvarṣa. This Bhāratvarṣa extended from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the country of the Mlechchhas in the West to that of the Kirātas in the East. This Bhāratvarṣa was all Brahmanised. The Kirāta is the Kirrhādia of Ptolemy. It is the modern country of Tiperra including Sylhet and Assam. By about 250 A.C. the whole of India was Brahmanised.

Later on, the Manu-smṛti (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.C.) speaks of "the Puṇḍrakas together with

the Yavanas, Sakas, Palhavas, and Kirâtas as the Kshatriya races which were degraded to the condition of the Shûdras, in consequence of their neglect of the rites and the Brahmans" (p. 112).

Though Aṅga in Bihâr was Brahmanised by 900 B.C. the South Bihâr and Bengal were Brahmanised much later, in about the 3rd century A.C. The country was 'Aryanised, and was Shramanised, i.e., made to adopt Buddhism or Jainism, but it was not Brahmanised till very late. Why so? The Shramana sect (the Buddhists and Jains) expected "obedience and respect of its laity only to its moral code and its founder respectively. It left the lay followers perfectly free to pursue their old forms of ritual and to adhere to their original social manners and customs. Such was not however the case with Brahmanism, which, although it left the old faiths in many cases untouched, demanded implicit reverence to the Vedas and the Brahmans and insisted upon its peculiar socio-religious hierarchy, namely, *varnâshrama*, being introduced and rigorously followed" (p. 113).

The cause of the delay in the Brahmanising of the eastern part seems to be, that the Brahmans received opposition from the Ahuras in that part of the country. The tribes living in the East were all Asura in origin. It is even thought that they derived their names from the five sons of an Asura king, Bali by name.

There is the tradition of there being another Asura king in Bengal, Bana by name. He is said to be the son of the above Asura king, Bali. The Shatapatha-Brahmana "speaks of the Asuras as the Prâcyas, which we know was another name of the Magadha or South Bihâr, if not, for the whole of East India. In fact, in ancient times, Bihâr, and west Bengal formed one political unit. Thus, when Alexander came into India, and wanted to conquer that

part of the country which was to the east of the Sarasvati, he heard that it was dominated by Agrammes or Xandrames, king of the Praisoi and the Gangaridae. It has been admitted on all hands that the Praisoi corresponds the Prācyas or Magadha In fact, the king of Pataliputra was designated king of Prācyā" (p. 115).

Jarāsamdha, the king of Girivaraja—another name of Rajagraha, the earlier capital of Prācyā or Magadha, was "called an Asura in the Mahābhārata". Bihār is said to have long been ruled by Asura kings who "had culture and civilization of their own" (p. 116). The socio-religious fabric of the Asuras must have resisted very strongly and for a long time the inroads of Brahmanism In fact, the civilization of pre-Mauryan India especially in Magadha was a fusion of the Aryan and Asura cultures

I now beg to submit a few observations which show that Mr. Bhandarkar's paper is important from the point of view of the late Dr. Spooner's theory—a theory independently supported by some Hindu scholars¹—that India, especially, the northern regions of Punjab, and Behar had come much under the influence of the ancient Parsis and Persians. Ferishta, on the authority of older Arab and Persian writers, traces connection between India and Persia from the time of the Peshadian kings who held parts of India under their rule².

(B) A few observations.

1. The Magadhas are first mentioned in the Atharva-veda, the Atharva of the Indians corresponding to the Atharvans of the Iranians.

1 *Vide* "Foreign Connection of Buddha" by Sree Akkiraj Umakanta Vidya-sekhara. A paper read at the 3rd Oriental Conference at Madras (1924).

2 *Vide* Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, Introductory Chapter on the Hindus, p. LXVI. *Vide* my "Gimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S." p. 145.

2. Just as the Indians wished that fever (*takman*) may leave the Aryan land and infest the border tribes, the Iranians wished that the Daevas—and fever (*tafnu*)—was an evil on which a daeva presided—may fly to northern regions (Vend. VIII, 21).

3. Just as there were “16 great countries (Solasa-Mahajanapada)”, into which that portion of India which was occupied by the Aryans was divided, the Iranians also had sixteen (khshvash daçan षोडशन्) countries under their influence.

4. The Dānavas (about 60,000) were descended from two daughters of an Asura or an Ahurian. These Indian Dānavas are the Iranian Danus. I think that it is the tribe of the Dānus in the West that has given their geographical names to rivers like the Danube, the Dneiper, the Dneister and the Don. Probably the name Danube comes from Danu and Av. ap (अप; Pers. āb آب, water) meaning “the waters or the river of the Danu tribe”.

5. The ancient name of Magadha or South Bihār was “Pracyā” which was the country of the Asuras. The Asuras are spoken of as Prācyas. The name seems to be significant. Is not “Prācyā” the same as the name “Parsaiy,” mentioned in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes,¹ the king who often speaks of his devotion to Ahura Mazda and who was an Ahurian of the Ahurians, the Asura of the Asuras? In his inscription of Naqsh-i Rostam, Darius speaks of himself as “Parsa Parsahya putra Ariya Ariya chithra,” i.e., a Parsi (or Persian) the son of a Parsi, an Aryan, one of Aryan descent².

When Alexander came to India and desired to conquer the country in the east of Saraswati, “he heard that it was dominated by Agrammes or Xandrames, King of the

1 Vide Tolman's “Guide of the Old Persian Inscriptions,” p. 54. Vide for the name also other Inscriptions, *Ibid.* p. 57. 2 *Ibid.* p. 79.

Praisiōi.....In fact the king of Pātaliputra was designated king of Prācyā". The above names, Agrammes and Xandrames, are Persian. According to Herodotus¹, the Persian names generally ended with "s".

6. The people of the country outside Arya-varta had not come into "the pale of Aryan civilization". So, the people of Arya-varta were forbidden to go there, and if they did go there, they were asked to go through a purification ceremony. Though one cannot put his finger on the chapter or verse of the Avesta referring to a similar custom among the Iranians, we have a proof of a similar custom in the historical case of Tiridates (Tirdad), the Zoroastrian King of Armenia. According to Tacitus,² when summoned by Emperor Nero to Rome, to be crowned there by his own hands as the King of Armenia under him, Tiridates refused on the ground of a sacerdotal custom prohibiting the crossing of the sea. A similar statement is made about his brother Vologeses (the Valkhash of Parsi books). The custom was prevalent even among the Parsees of India upto a few years ago when Parsi priests were forbidden to go across the sea. The priests who had gone to Aden, about 50 years ago, to consecrate the Fire-temple founded there by the late Mr. Cowasji Dinshaw of Aden, were, on their return to India, prevented from officiating in the inner circle of liturgical services.

7. Jarāsamdha, the king of Girivaraja, another name of Rajagraha (Rajgir), the earlier capital of Prācyā or Magadha, was "called an Asura in the Mahābhārata". Again Bihār is said to have been ruled for long by Asura kings who "had culture and civilization of their own". This foreign culture and civilization show them to be foreigners from Persia, the Prācyā of the Iranian Inscription.

1 Bk. I, 139.

2 Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Bk. XV, p. 24. Ed. of the Oxford Press.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

THE REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1930.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1930.

Meetings.—There were six meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Members of the Institute.—In the beginning of the year, there were 219 Life Members. Owing to the removal of five names on account of death and increase of two fresh members, the number of Life Members at the end of the year stood at 216.

There were 69 Annual Members in the beginning of the year. On account of the death of three members and the addition of four new members, at the end of the year, the number of Annual Members was 70.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the Death of Mr. K. R. Cama.—The twenty-first anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Wednesday, the 20th August 1930, at 6-15 p.m. (S.T.), in the hall of the Institute, when Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., delivered a discourse on "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsis at his hands".

Lecture.—Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., delivered a lecture on "Pahlavi Literary Iran" at the Institute premises, on Monday, the 15th December 1930, under the presidentship of Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., when Mrs. Meherbanoo B. T. Anklesaria also addressed the meeting and gave her impressions as to the present rising Iran.

Reprint of Journal No. 6.—Professor Nöldeke's German treatise on "Das Iranische Nationalepos" (the Iranian National Epic) was translated into English by Mr. L. Bogdanov under the auspices of this Institute. The translation was printed in Journal No. 6. The subject-matter of this Journal being an important criticism on the Shah-nameh of Firdousi, and historical and legendary accounts connected with the great Persian poet, there was a good demand for the Journal and so it was nearly out of stock. At the instance of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji a reprint of the Journal was published at a cost of Rs. 529-12-0 as Publication No. 7 and with a view to increase its importance a Table of Contents and an Index were added therein.

Translation of an Italian Treatise on "I Misteri Persiani".—An English translation of the section of Prof. Pettazzoni's work "I Misteri" dealing with the Persian Mysteries was prepared by Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala, M.A., Ph.D., who was given an honorarium of Rs. 150.

Translation of the First Book of Hamza Ispahani.—The work of translating into English the First Book of Hamza Ispahani has been entrusted to Dr. U. H. Daudpota on an honorarium of Rs. 150.

Translation of Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Khordeh Avesta.—The Executive Committee entrusted the work of translating into English Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Khordeh Avesta as given in Ervad Sherrariji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part I", to Dr. Jamshed Maneckji Unvala, B.A., Ph.D., on an honorarium of Rs. 250 from the Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Prize Fund.

Revision of the Ms. copy of the Persian Burzo-Nameh.—The Executive Committee had, at a cost of Rs.

900, got the two Manuscript volumes of the Persian Burzo-Nameh, lent by the Columbia University of New York, copied by a Mahomedan scribe in the years 1927 and 1928. At the suggestion of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, the Executive Committee deemed it necessary to get the copy revised after comparison with the original MSS. which were subsequently returned to New York. The work of comparison was entrusted to Mirza Zain-ul Abedin Khan Hekmat Shirazi on an honorarium of Rs. 500. Besides correcting the copy, Mr. Shirazi prepared notes of correction for the mistakes he detected in the original Mss. The work was carried out under the constant supervision of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, for which the Committee express thanks to him.

Resignation of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi as Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute.—Dr. Jivanji Modi having submitted his resignation of his office as Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute by his letter dated the 3rd February 1930, the following resolution was passed unanimously :—

“The resignation of his office as Honorary Secretary of the Institute by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., should be forwarded to the Trustees. The Executive Committee have received it with deep regret. Dr. Modi took the leading part in founding this Institute and from the beginning upto now in spite of an enormous amount of other occupations, he has worked in its interests with indefatigable zeal and devotion to put it on a firm foundation, to further its utility and enhance its prestige. For two years he was its President, and since the last nine years he has discharged the much more onerous duties of its Secretary, doing not only most of the laborious work of that office, but also most

of the literary work as well. He has not only put the Institute in order, increased the membership and funds, but also worked as Editor of its Journal contributing a large number of erudite and interesting papers from his vast store of learning, given a large number of lectures from its platform and induced other scholars to do the same, and represented the Institute as its delegate at various congresses and conferences of scholars. The Committee record their deep sense of gratitude to him for all his work, and cannot but regret that considerations of health compel him to give up a part of it. They are glad however to note that he has kindly consented to remain a member of the Executive Committee and favour it with his valuable advice and help. They sincerely hope that this connection of which they are proud will continue for many more years to come."

The Trustees of this Institute also passed the following resolution of appreciation of Dr. Modi's services:—

"The Trustees of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute have received with regret the resignation given by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., of the office of Honorary Secretary of the Institute. They desire to place on record their high sense of appreciation of the valued services rendered by Dr. Modi to the Institute from its inception. Some of these services have been referred to in the resolution passed by the Executive Committee in forwarding Dr. Modi's resignation. Whilst cordially concurring in the Committee's resolution of appreciation of Dr. Modi's services, the Trustees desire to tender to Dr. Modi their best thanks for the zeal and devotion with which he has laboured for the advancement of the Institute in which he has taken a keen personal inter-

rest not merely as an Oriental scholar and a public-spirited citizen, but also as a friend and admirer of the great scholar in honour of whom the Institute has been founded.

“The Trustees are glad to learn that Dr. Modi’s esteemed connection with the Institute as a Member of the Executive Committee and as Editor of the Institute’s Journal still continues. They hope that such connection will endure for many years to come and that Providence will bless Dr. Modi with health and strength to carry on his literary and scholarly activities during his retirement.”

Commemoration of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi’s services to the Institute.—At the suggestion of Bai Serene M. Cursetji to commemorate the indefatigable services rendered by Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi to the cause of this Institute, the Committee passed the following resolution at the meeting held on the 5th August 1930 :—

“As a mark of appreciation of the great services rendered to this Institute by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., an oil paint portrait of his, and, the fund permitting, a memorial cabinet containing all his publications and other relics of his be placed in the Institute, the expenses of the same to be defrayed from voluntary subscriptions by the members of the Institute, and a sub-committee of the following members be appointed to carry out the object of this resolution : Mr. Sorabji E. Warden, Miss Serene M. Cursetji, Mr. Kaikhushru H. Cama, and the Hon’y. Secretary, Mr. S. K. Hodivala.”

The sub-committee has, by the end of the year under report, collected Rs. 1,389, subscribed by the mem-

bers of the Institute, the maximum subscription for the fund being kept at Rs. 25.

(**A Request.**—It is requested that those members who have not sent in their contribution will please send it to the Joint Honorary Secretaries at their convenience.)

Resolution of Congratulation.—The Executive Committee, at its meeting of the 19th June 1930, passed unanimously the following resolution of congratulation to Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, on the title of Knighthood conferred on him by the British Government :—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute tenders its very cordial congratulations to Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., on account of the title of Knighthood conferred on him by Government, an honour fully deserved for, among other reasons, his own extensive learning and his indefatigable exertions in the cause of learning and prays that he may be long spared in health and happiness to enjoy this distinction and continue his career of great usefulness.”

Dr. Sir Jivanji thanked the Committee for its resolution of congratulation by his letter dated the 21st June 1930.

New Joint Honorary Secretary.—At the instance of the Executive Committee the Trustees were pleased to appoint Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A., as Joint Honorary Secretary in lieu of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, resigned. The Executive Committee thanked Mr. Hodivala for kindly placing his honorary services as Joint Secretary at the disposal of the Committee.

Manekji Limji Hateria Library.—As stated in the report for the year 1929, arrangements were made, by

securing the order of the High Court, to transfer the above Library from the Anjuman Atash-behram to this Institute. The books and Mss., as selected by Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji and brought to this Institute, numbered as under:—

Avesta, Pahlavi and other books relating to Zoroastrianism	...	...	...	38
Mss. on the same subjects	...	...	...	28
Books on miscellaneous subjects	...	...	...	131
Persian books and Mss.	...	...	...	923
Total	...	...	...	1,120

For the upkeep of the Library, the Honorary Secretaries of the Anjuman Atash-behram have been pleased to send to this Institute (with their letter dated 23rd April 1930) four pieces of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 1000 each of 1854-55 bearing numbers B. 114346-49, with cash Rs. 5-2-0 being the balance of the Library Fund that remained with them after deducting the legal and other incidental expenses. The Committee beg to thank the members of the Atash-behram Committee for their kindness.

The thanks of the Executive Committee are due to Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji for selecting the books and preparing a list of Persian books and Mss.

The books and Mss. of the Hateria Library have been covered against risk of fire by an insurance of Rs. 20,000 at the Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd.

A Building for the Institute.—Further attempts were made by Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi during the year under report to secure a ready-made building for the use of the Institute or to purchase a piece of land for a new building to be built thereon. But these attempts were unfortunately not successful for various reasons.

The Executive Committee however express their deep thanks to Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi for all the pains he took in this matter and for the intense zeal he evinced in his attempts to collect funds for the building.

Manuscripts repaired.—During the year of the report, 52 Mss. of the Library were repaired and bound at a cost of Rs. 141-8-0.

Inventory of Books.—The Executive Committee asked the Librarian to take stocks of the books of the Library. As several books were found to be missing, the Executive Committee appointed a sub-committee of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji and Ervad B. N. Dhabhar to go into the matter and to submit their report with suggestions.

Insurance.—The total insurance of the books, Mss., etc., the furniture and dead-stock was effected with the Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd. for Rs. 15,000.

Presentation of a gold coin.—Mr. Darabshah Framji Sethna of Karachi had sent a gold coin to Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi with a letter, requesting him to keep it in a Parsi Museum. Dr. Sir Jivanji presented the coin to this Institute, which would, if deemed proper, present it to any Parsee Museum that might come into existence later on. The gold coin has been found to be of the Sasanian king, Behram II. The Committee accepted the gift with many thanks.

Donations.—The Executive Committee accepted with thanks the following donations received during the year under report:—

- One piece 3½ Government Promissory
- Note presented by Bai Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama in memory of her mother-in-law Bai Awabai Dossabhoj

Cama (the first wife of the late Mr. K. R. Cama) of the face value of ... Rs. 500	
The children and sister of the late Bai Aimai K. R. Cama in memory of the 35th anniversary of her passing away (for the Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund). ..	100
A Zoroastrian as thanksgiving for God's mercy	25
In grateful memory of late Mr. Sorabji B. Bhabha	25
In grateful memory of my father's 59th anniversary	5

The best thanks of the Executive Committee are due to the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties for kindly subscribing for 50 copies of each of the Publications Nos. 4 and 5, and to Sir Hormusji Cowasjee Dinshah, Kt., M.V.O., O.B.E., and the President and Members of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute for buying 25 and 15 copies respectively of Publication No. 7 (Iranian National Epic).

Books and Journals presented.—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the Institutions and private individuals, who have kindly presented books, journals, reports, etc., to the Institute as under :—

BOOKS PRESENTED.

Histoire de l'extreme Orient, Parts I and II, by Rene Grousset (presented by Musée Guimet).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Library, Vols. I, II and III, by P. P. S. Sastri (presented by the Madras Government).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Mss. in the Tanjore Library, Vols. I, II and III, by Pandit L. Olaganatha Pillay (presented by the Madras Government).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marathi Mss. and Books in the Tanjore Library, Vol. I, Vargas 1, 2 and 3, by Sri Ramdasi R. B. Goswami (presented by the Madras Government).

The Alankara Manihara, Part IV, by Sri K. B. Parakalaswamin (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I (presented by the Bombay Government).

The Samnyasa Upanishads with the Commentary of Sri Upanishad Brahma Yogin by T. R. Dixit (presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts by Emile Benveniste (presented by Paul Geuthner).

Translation of Siddhanta Bindu by P. M. Modi, B.A. (presented by the author).

The Composition of the Gathas by Priyaranjan Sen (presented by the author).

Les Maitres de la Philologie Vedique by Louis Renou (presented by Musée Guimet).

The Edict of Asoka at Sopara near Bombay by R. B. Paymaster (presented by the author).

The Doctrine of the Gathas by Priyaranjan Sen (presented by the author).

Baha 'U' Llah and the New Era by J. E. Esslemont (presented by Bahai's Spiritual Assembly).

Brahmanska Moudrost by Arnost Czech Czechenherz (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy by Mary Carpenter (presented by Mr. C. M. Cursetji).

A Petition in Persian Verse addressed to Emperor Jahangir by Dastur Kekobad Mahyar of Naosari by Dr. J. J. Modi (presented by the author).

Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 4, by N. B. Utgikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

Tibetische National Grammatik, Teil 1, by Johannes Schubert.

The following books were presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi :—

Ms. (Gujarati) containing (a) a few prayers with meaning; (b) karime with meaning and (c) Shiaposh Kisseh.

A copy of the Will of the grandsons of late Dastur Meherjirana (Guj.)

Description of 21 nasks extracted from a Ms. of Dinik Vajarkard in Dastur Noshirwan's Library, Poona.

Ms. (Guj.) Ijashne with ceremony.

Ms. (Guj.) Virafnamoo (illustrated).

Ms. (Avesta Pahlavi) Khurdeh Avesta (Avesta Text with Pahlavi translation).

Ms. (Guj.) Jamaspi.

Ms. (Persian) Ketab-i-Minookherat.

Dastan Sarae Andalib.

Dabestan.

Ms. Avesta Vendidad (1023 Y.Z.)

Bundahishn, Patet and Nam Setayashna.

Mona-Khoda Glossary (with a Persian poem).

Saddar Ketab (Persian).

Gujarati Rivayat.

Afrin-i-Rapithwin (Pazend).

Dadar bin Dadokht, the beginning portion of the Irani Wedding Ceremony, Patet, etc.

Sanskrit Ashirvad.

Genealogy of the Modi family—a few stray pieces of Ms.

Asiatic Papers, Part IV, by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters by Calcutta University Press (presented by the Calcutta University Press).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Library, Vols. IV to IX, by P. P. S. Sastri (presented by the Madras Government).

Catalogue of Valuable Oriental Mss. and Miniatures (presented by the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, Delhi).

Trois Conferences sur l'Armenie by Musée Guimet (presented by the publisher).

Probleme des Centaures étude de Methylogie Comparée Indo-Européenne by Musée Guimet (presented by the publisher).

Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series: No. LV : Tarka Samgraha of Annambhatta by Mr. Y. V. Athalye, M.A., LL.B. (presented by the Department of Public Instruction, Bombay).

A Paper on the Foreign Connection of Buddha by Sree A. M. Vidyasekhara (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

‘અરા દીની સાલનું’ પંચાંગ ચક્રવર્તી સને ૧૧૬૬ થી ૧૩૦૦ સુધીનું’ (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Christianisme et Mazdeisme chez les Turks-Orientaux by E. Blochet (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XX (presented by the Calcutta University).

History of Dharmasastra (being the Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6) by P. V. Kane (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

La Pensée de Rabindranath Tagore by Sushil Chandra Mitter (presented by the Editor, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris).

Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, Tomi I, Pars VII, Codices Zendicos Complectens by Christian Bartholomae.

Les Fleurs de Rhétorique dans l'Inde by H. R. Diwekar (presented by the Editor, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris).

Imperial Library Catalogue, Part II, Subject-Index to the Author Catalogue, First Supplement (presented by the Government of India, Calcutta).

Racial Intermarriages : Their Scientific Aspect by J. J. Vimadalal and others (presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran by Ernst Herzfeld, Band I, Heft I, II and III and Band II, Heft 1, 2, 3 and 4 (presented by the author).

Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet Friedrich Sarre, Vols. II and IV, by Ernst Herzfeld (presented by the author).

JOURNALS PRESENTED.

The Asiatic Quarterly Review, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 84 and 85, October 1929 and January 1930.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. X, Parts III-IV ; Vol. XI, Parts I, II ; Vol. XII, Part I.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XIII, Nos. 3, 4, July, October 1929; Vol. XIV, No. 1, January 1930.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XX, No. 2 (October 1929), Nos. 3, 4 (January, April 1930); Vol. XXI, Nos. 1, 2 (July, October 1930).

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, (October, November and December 1929); Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 (January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August and September 1930).

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 1, 2 and 3, 1929; Heft 1 and 2, 1930.

Bulletin of the Iran League, August to December 1929 and January to July 1930.

The Exploits of King Kampila and Kuara Ramana-tha; Supplement to "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society", October 1929.

Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires et de Notices, Tome CCXII, No. 2 (April-June, 1928), Tome CCXIII, No. 3 (October-December 1928), Tome CCXIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 (January, April, July and October 1929).

Numismatic Supplement No. XLI, December 1929.

The Humanist, Vol. II, Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 (February-May 1930); Vol. III, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 (June-December 1930 and January 1931).

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. X, Nos. 3-4, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2.

British Mazdaznan Magazine, Vol. V, Nos. 10, 11 and 12 (June-August 1929); Vol. VI, Nos. 1-12 (September 1929 to August 1930) and Vol. VII, No. 1 (September 1930).

The Aryan Path, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1930.

Rahe Zarathushtra, Vol. X, No. 4, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-4, and Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4.

Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vatsyana's Kamasutra.

Greater India Society Publication No. 3.

Asiatica, Vol. II, No. 3 (July-September) and No. 4 (October-December) 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy (four numbers).

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Vol. I, Part I, by T. N. Ramachandra, M.A.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, Parts III and IV, 1929; Vol. XVI, Parts I and II.

The Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1930.

Review of Philosophy and Religion being the *Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1930.

An Educational Museum at Calcutta.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 49, No. 4, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September).

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1929.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IV, Parts 1-4 (July, October 1929, January and April 1930); Vol. V, No. 1 (July 1930).

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Vol. V, 1929.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 9, Heft I, 1930.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41 and 44 (presented by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Parts I and II, by A. H. Francke, Ph.D. (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Loan Exhibition of Antiquities Coronation Durbar, published by the Archaeological Survey of India (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the years 1924-25 and 1925-26 (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Presidential Address, Tenth Indian Science Congress (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. V, Part IV, 1930.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. 2, June 1930.

Index to the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the years 1906-1922.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books, etc., were purchased during the year of the report :—

A History of Ancient Persia, by R. W. Rogers.

The Sumerians, by C. Leonard Woolley.

Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt, S. Spiro Bey.

Elias's Modern Dictionary, English-Arabic, by Elias A. Elias.

Elias's Modern Dictionary, Arabic-English, by **Elias A. Elias**.

Thatcher Arabic Grammar with a key, by **V. Thatcher**.

Thomas Herbert Travels in Persia, 1627-1629, by **Sir William Foster**.

Arabic-English Dictionary, by **Revd. J. G. Hava**.

Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi : Texte und Index der Pehlevi Worter, by **H. S. Nyberg**.

Ideas and Ideals in Ancient Persia by **Jehangir B. Sanjana, B.A.**

Airan Nameh (Persian).

The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides found at Suse, by **Dr. J. M. Unvala, B.A., Ph.D.**

Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, by **Dr. Modi Editorial Board** (3 copies).

A Multani Manuscript.

A Manuscript of Farokhshi in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Farvardin Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Behram Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Aban Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Farvardin Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Afrain of Six Gahambars in Avesta characters.

Trustees:—**Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D. (1914)**; **Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. (1914)**; **Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Bar-at-Law (1914)**; **Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor) (1916)**; **Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B. (1916)**; **R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916)**; and **Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, III Bart. (1928)**.

*Executive Committee :—**President :—*M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)*Vice-Presidents :—*

- (1) Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.
- (2) Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

*Members :—*Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D.; Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor); Miss Serene M. Cursetji; Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.; Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.; R. F. Gorevala, Esq., M.A.; Kaikhushru H. Cama, Esq.; B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.; P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.; Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.; Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretaries :—

- (1) Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.
- (2) S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

New Life Members.—Noshirwan Rustam Modi, Esq., and Jehangir Bhikhaji Dalal, Esq.

New Annual Members.—Bomonshah Sorabji E. Desai, Esq., Capt. Sohrab Rustomji Bamji, Munchershaw Furdunji Mulla, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., and Furdunji Maneckji Pavri, Esq., B.A.

Death of Members.—The Committee deeply regret to put on record the deaths of the following members during the year under report :—

Bai Ruttonbai Edalji Bamji; Khurshedji Dhunjibhoy Shroff, Esq. (Solicitor); Hormusji Shapurji Seervai, Esq.; Framji Rustomji Wadia, Esq.; Dossabhoy Merwanji Billimoria, Esq.; Sardar Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherji Dalal, M.A., LL.B.; and Ervad Hormusji Tehmulji Dadachanji.

Publications of the Institute.

Journals :—Nos. 1-11, each Rs. 2 ; No. 12, Rs. 4-8 ; Nos. 13-14, each Rs. 2 ; No. 15, Rs. 3 ; Nos. 16-17, each Rs. 2.

Publication No. 1 : “ Parsi History”, by Prof. S. H. Hodivala, M.A. Re. 1-8.

„ 2 : “ Indo-Iranian Philology: A Study of Semantic Etymology”, by Prof. Ernst P. Horrwitz. Re. 1.

„ 3 : “ The Gathas”, translated and summarised by K. E. Punegar, B.A. Cloth bound Re. 1-8; Paper bound, Re. 1.

„ 4 : “ Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism”, translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.C., and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A. Rs. 2.

„ 5: “ The Foundations of the Iranian Religions” (Ratanbai Katrak’s Lectures delivered at Oxford), by Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D. Rs. 3.

„ 6 : “ The Naosari Navar and Nirangdin Fahrest” (in Gujarati), in 2 volumes, by Ervad Mahyar Nowroji Kutar. Rs. 8.

„ 7 : Nöldeke’s “ The Iranian National Epic” or the Shah-nameh, translated into English by L. Bogdanov, Esq. Rs. 2.

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES.				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,02,041	5	11
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,531	12	5
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,994	10	8
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,941	2	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,156	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,710	4	0
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,561	13	0
Revayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	4,303	10	6
Pehlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	655	4	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,905	2	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund	...	...	...	1,370	14	0
Total				2,78,802	7	1

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

31st December 1930.

ASSETS.			Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 19,948-3-3):—					
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	1,288	4	9
Safosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	1,167	2	8
All other Accounts	...	...	17,492	11	10
Securities —(With the Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700	...	...	63,306	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
6 per cent Ten Year Bonds of Rs. 74,300	...	...	74,450	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	1,18,988	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	2,008	8	0
Total			2,78,802	7	1

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

ombay, 11th June 1931.

THE K. R. CAMA ACCOUNT

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT.	Rs. a. p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1930 (Rs. 1,98,929-14-5):—	
Cash with Bank	8,858 2 3
Securities	1,87,957 8 10
Furniture and Fixtures	2,114 3 4
CASH CREDITS (Rs. 11,216-6-6):—	
Life and Annual Membership subscription ...	830 0 0
Donations (including $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500 face value and Rs. 55 cash)	555 0 0
Interest on Investments	8,256 7 0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account	861 12 0
Sundry receipts (including sale-proceeds of books, journals, etc.)	713 3 6
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES recovered from:—	
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	18 13 10
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	8 11 0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	6 4 0
The Fellowship Fund	125 11 0
The Mulla Feroze Library	660 0 0
Total Rs.	2,10,965 12 9

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

No. 1.

year ending 31st December 1930.

DEBIT.				Rs.	a.	p.
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 8,818-11-6):—						
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	4,065	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	905	6	0
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	142	5	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	102	9	0
Insurance	...	...	...	65	10	0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	237	13	6
OTHER DEBITS:—						
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...			105	11	4
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1930 (Rs. 2,02,041-5-11):—						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of	Rs.	60,300		47,518	12	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of	„	500		500	0	0
6 per cent Government Promissory Bonds (1931) of the face value of	„	24,000		24,150	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of	„	500		500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of	„	1,15,500		1,15,788	12	0
Cash with Bank	...	...		11,575	5	1
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...		2,008	8	0
Total Rs.				2,10,965	12	9

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 11th June 1931.

No.

FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
	Publication charges	...	...		1,300	11	6
	Administration charges	...	...		125	11	0
	Balance on 31-12-30:—						
	Bonds	...	...	30,000	0	0	
	Cash	...	...	531	12	5	
					30,531	12	5
					31,958	2	11

No.

DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
	Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	...	861	12	0
	Balance as per contra	...	...		14,529	8	0
					15,391	4	0

No.

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
	Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...		0	1	0
	Administration charges	...	...		18	13	10
	Balance 31st Dec. 1930:—						
	B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0	0		
	6 per cent War Bonds	...	3,700	0	0		
	3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...					
	(F. V. 200)	...	127	8	0		
	Cash	...	1,167	2	8		
					5,994	10	8
					6,013	9	6

2.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
Bonds	...	30,000	0	0		
Cash	...	124	15	2		
					30,124	15 2
Interest	...	...	...		1,833	3 9
					31,958	2 11

3.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
6 per cent Bonds	...	14,400	0	0		
Cash	...	129	8	0		
					14,529	8 0
Interest	...	...	...		861	12 0
					15,391	4 0

4.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0	0		
6 per cent War	...	3,700	0	0		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...					
(F. V. 200)	...	127	8	0		
Cash	...	918	11	6		
					5,746	3 6
Interest	...	...	...		267	6 0
					6,013	9 6

No.

BAI AIMA K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...	0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...	8	11	0
Balance on 31-12-30					
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds	...	1,300	0	0	
6 p.c. War	...	700	0	0	
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes	...	652	14	0	
Cash	...	1,288	4	9	
			3,941	2	9
			3,949	14	9

No.

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:—					
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V.					
3,700)	...	2,379	9	0	
Cash	...	777	6	6	
			3,156	15	6
			3,156	15	6

No.

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration expenses	...	...	40	6	0
Administration charges	...	...	6	4	0
Balance on 31-12-30:—					
War Bonds	...	1,500	0	0	
Cash	...	219	4	0	
			1,719	4	0
			1,756	14	0

5.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—					
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,300	0	0		
6 per cent War Bonds ...	700	0	0		
3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ...	652	14	0		
Cash ...	1,074	8	0		
			3,727	6	9
Donation received ...			100	0	0
Interest on Securities ...			122	8	0
			3,949	14	9

6.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—					
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ...	2,379	9	0		
Cash ...	648	6	6		
			3,027	15	6
Interest ...			129	0	0
			3,156	15	6

7.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—					
War Bonds ...	1,500	0	0		
Cash ...	167	2	0		
			1,667	2	0
Interest ...			89	12	0
			1,756	14	0

No.

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930: -				
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	5,000	0	
Cash	...	1,561	13	0
		6,561	13	0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:--				
Securities as per contra	...	3,628	4	0
Cash	...	675	6	6
		4,303	10	6

No.

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:--				
Cash	...	655	4	4
		655	4	4

8.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—					
3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000	0	0		
Cash	1,387	3	0	6,387	3 0
Interest				174	10 0
				6,561	13 0

9.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
3½ per cent G. P. Notes						
(Face Value Rs. 4,600)...	3,628	4	0			
Cash	515	2	6	4,143	6 6	
Interest				160	4 0	
				4,303	10 6	

10.

TRANSLATION FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930	...	...		655	4 4	
				655	4 4	

No.

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
	Balance on 31-12-1930:—					
	G. P. Notes	...	...	4,000	0	0
	Cash	...	...		5	2
				4,005	2	0

No.

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
	Cards and Stamps	...	...	18	2	0
	Balance on 31-12-1930	...	...	1,370	14	0
				1,389	0	0

11.

LIBRARY FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
.	3½ per cent Government Notes received					
	during the year	...	...	4,000	0	0
	Cash	...	...	5	2	0
				4,005	2	0

12.

APPRECIATION FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
	Donation received	...	...	1,389	0	0
				1,389	0	0

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 20.

EDITED BY
SHAMS-UL ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., C.I.E., B.A., PH.D., LL.D.

BOMBAY :

PRINTED AT THE FORT PRINTING PRESS, BOMBAY.
LONDON AGENTS: LUZAC & Co., 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

1932

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A PARSEE HIGH PRIEST (DASTUR ÂZAR KAIWAN, 1529-1614 A.D.) WITH HIS ZOROASTRIAN DISCIPLES IN PATNA, IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY A.C.¹

DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.

I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to give a brief account of a band of Zoroastrians—priests and laymen, with Dastur Âzar Kaiwân as their head,—who visited Northern India and stayed at Patna in the latter part of the 16th century and the earlier part of the 17th century A.C.

The first question is : What drew the Zoroastrians from Persia to India ? The number of Zoroastrians in Persia, at the time of which we write, was much larger than at present.² They knew of the existence of the Zoroastrian Parsees of India, because the latter corresponded

. 1 This paper was read before the Sixth Oriental Conference at Patna on 18th December 1930. It then formed the subject of a discourse before the Zarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnâri Mandli, in the hall of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on 4th December 1931.

2 The figures of Zoroastrian population in Persia, at various times, seem approximately to be as follows: (a) Beginning of 18th century 1 million. (b) In the time of Fath Ali Shah (1798-1836) 50,000. (c) In the time of Mahomad Shah (1836-46) 30,000. (d) In 1854, as ascertained by Mr. Maneckji Hataria, the agent in Persia of the Parsees of India, 7,725. (e) In 1925-27, as ascertained by Mr. Manock F. Mulla, 10,050. The Zoroastrians of Iran residing, at present, in India, about 5,000 (Manock F. Mulla's book on Seistan, p. 121).

with their learned men.¹ But the then position of the Indian Parsees was not such as to draw them from Persia to India.

In the times of Humayun and his successors, individual Parsees had risen to fame and to some high positions and had founded families, some of which have carried down the name and fame of their founders upto now. Individual families, like those of Changa Shah, Dastur Meherji Rana, Desai, Dordi, etc., of Naosari, the Nek-sâat Khans, Behermand Khans, Taleyarkhans, Seths and others of Surat, the Mirzâns of Udware, and others had come into prominence. But much cannot be said with certainty about the community as a whole. Mr. Morland² says that the position of the Parsees was not clear. Rev. Terry (1615-16) said that their profession was husbandry. Mundy (1632) said that it was that of cultivating palm trees.³ Father A. Monserrate (1580) could not even distinguish them at Naosari from other Indians and mixed them up with non-Parsees of the place. It was at Surat that Thevenot (1660) found them to be conspicuous figures. Garcia da Orta (1534) had found them to be traders. From Akbar's time, they began to turn a little from agriculture to "commer-

1 The subjects of this correspondence are noted in the compilations, known as the Rivâyats. *Vide* my Introduction to Ervad Manekji Rustomji Unwala's Rivâyât of Darab Hormuzdiâr, for their contents.

2 India at the death of Akbar, by W. H. Morland, p. 23.

3 It seems, that they had inherited this art of cultivating the palm trees and preparing a wine, a kind of healthy drink, from this, from the times of their Achæmenian forefathers. According to Herodotus, the king of distant Ethiopia (modern Abyssinia), though he believed that his Abyssinians lived longer on their wheat than the Persians, attributed the health of the Persians, whatever it be, to their health-giving wine, made from palm trees.

cial career " in which they have since accomplished success.¹ They had gone for business, from Gujarat, the place of their head-quarters, to distant places like Delhi, Agra, and even Kashmir. But, whatever their pursuit, they had, to a great extent, faithfully adhered to their faith. Their literature was mostly confined to religion, in the matter of which they occasionally consulted their co-religionists in Persia. So, it were not the Parsees of India that drew here Āzar Kaiwan and his party. On the other hand, from what happened in later times, when the written works of some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan were sought after and translated, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, in the middle of the last century, it seems probable, that, possibly, their advent in India, drew the attention of the Indian Parsees to them and to their beliefs. So, as all the members of the party were of a mystic frame of mind, it seems probable that it was the religious fervour of the time in the Moghul Court of Akbar that drew them here. I will here speak on the state of that religious fervour.

II

AKBAR AND HIS TIMES.

The Court of the Moghul Emperors of India² was a kind of academy, where men of literature, secular and religious, and men of art and science, met under the patronage of the rulers. Their patronage and encourage-

¹ *Ibid.* Vide my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayat of Bombay, in two volumes, Vol. I, Preface page V.

² The years of the rule of the early Moghul rulers were as follows—Baber 1525 to 1530; Humayun 1530 to 1556; Akbar 1556 to 1605; Jehangir 1605 to 1627; Shah Jehan 1627 to 1658 and Aurungzeb 1658 to 1707.

ment drew many outsiders to India, not only to the Royal Courts, but to the country in general. The period of the Moghul rule was a splendid period in various ways. It was specially a period of literary advancement. Most of them wrote, or got written under their own personal instructions, their memoirs. Humayun was a lover of books and he is said to have carried his own chosen library wherever he went, even in his wars and flights¹ after defeat. His successors inherited that love of books and they encouraged the cause of Persian literature. Akbar the Great, though said to be illiterate—and his illiteracy has been defended by his great Minister Abu Fazal²—was a great friend of literature and arts.

Akbar was more or less a mystic from his boyhood.

Akbar as a Mystic. At the boyish age of 15, he is said to have "mounted a specially vicious Irākī horse, named Hairān, and rode off, leaving orders that nobody, not even a groom, should follow him. He dismounted and was supposed to have 'assumed the posture of communing with his God'.....Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sūfi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality, and now and again believed or fancied that he had succeeded. His temperament was profoundly melancholic, and there seems to be some reason to suspect that, at times, he was not far from the danger of falling into a state of religious mania".³

1 *Vide* my paper on a Petition in Persian verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jehangir (Jour. K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahiyar's Petition to Jehangir and Laudatory Poem to Khurram (Shah Jehan)", p. 103.

2 *Vide* my paper on "King Akbar and the Persian translations of Sanskrit books" before the 1st Oriental Conference at Poona (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1924-25), Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 84-107). 3 Smith's 'Akbar, the Great Moghul,' p. 160.

Vincent Smith, further on, thus sums up Akbar's religious views: "His religious speculations and vagaries rested primarily on the fact that he was born with the mystic temperament. Even in the early years of his reign, when he was a zealous pilgrim to the shrines of the saints, a generous builder of mosques, and a willing persecutor of unorthodox theologians, his orthodoxy was modified by a strain of mysticism based chiefly on the writings of the Persian Sufi poets. Later in life he came in more under the influence of Hindu pantheistic doctrine, which has close affinities with Sufi teaching. Throughout all phases he seems always to have cherished the mystic's ideal of close and direct communion with God, unobscured by priestly intervention or disputable dogmas..... He remained a mystic to the end."¹

Among the various activities of the time of Akbar, one was in the matter of religion. His zeal for an eclectic religion was well known. It had been known far and wide. It drew towards India the attention of many foreigners. Some of these foreigners were attracted direct to his Royal Court, and some to other parts of the country. Akbar was a religious-minded man who saw a religion behind all religions, who saw a God or *the* God, behind the gods of all religions. With this view, he secured the company of Hindu Yogis, Gurus and Sanyasis, Mahomedan Pirs and Fakirs, Christian fathers and clergymen and Parsee Dasturs and Mobads.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were among those who had come at this time to India, to the country of Sanyasis and Sadhus, Yogis and Fakirs. Akbar was born in 1542 A.C. and died in 1605. Azar Kaiwan was born in

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 348-349.

1533 and died in 1613. So, he was his contemporary and was older than Akbar by nine years. In Persia itself, they were already drawn towards *riâzat* (ریاضت), towards abstemiousness and austerities which, they believed, were practised even by their ancient Peshdadian, Kayanian and Sassanian Kings. So, the talk of Akbar's religious frame of mind, of his inclination towards *riâzat*, Yog, and such other matters, and of his converse with people who practised these, seem to have drawn to India many people of Akbar's tendency of mind. Among these were Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

Azar Kaiwan does not seem to have come into any contact with the court of Akbar. Some of his disciples had come to Akbarabad (Agra). But his and his follower's head-quarters during the time were at Patna. It was the religious fervour of the time in India, due to the influence of the eclectic trend of mind of Akbar, that seems to have drawn the mystic-minded Zoroastrians of Persia to India, but for his head-quarters, Azar Kaiwan chose Patna.

The reason, why Azar Kaiwan and his disciples made Patna their head-quarters is not quite clear. But, we know, that Patna was one of the old centres of Buddhist belief. At Panj Pahari (Five Hills), about half a mile south of Patna, there stood some old ruins. The old palace of Chandragupta's Pataliputra stood at Kumrahar near Patna. The ruins are the remnants of old Buddhist stupas or Jain cupolas. Some of the ruins are said to have been of the times of the Nandas who preceded Chandragupta. Some of the earliest remains of Buddhism in India are in the Rajagriha Hills of the Patna District. So, it seems that Patna may have become, in Azar Kaiwan's time, a seat of old Indian philosophy and mysticism.

III

AUTHORITIES FOR AN ACCOUNT OF AZAR
KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

Our main authorities for an account of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples is the Persian Dabistan, written in India. Besides this, there are the smaller works of some of his disciples, of which I will speak later on, which give some insight into their work. I will here speak of the Dabistan, known as the Dabistan-i-Mazāhab (دبستان مذاهب), i.e., the School of Religious Creeds. The word Dabistan is a contraction of Pahlavi Dapiristan (دپريستان), or Dabiristan.¹

Among Persian books relating to mystic sects and beliefs and austere practices (دبستان),
The Dabistan.

I think the Dabistan and the Desatir are more known than any other book in Northern India and perhaps in the city of Patna. I myself have heard much of the Dabistan, in my travels in Northern India, even in the distant Kashmir, during my three visits of the beautiful valley. They were taken in the last century, to a great extent, and, even now, to a certain extent, to be two Parsi or semi-Parsi books. Both have been translated into Gujarati for the Parsis. The present Parsi students refer more to the English translation by Shea and Troyer than to the Gujarati translation with an invocation to God in Persian and Pahlavi², by Mobed

1 Steingass thinks that it may also be a contraction of P. Adabistān (ادبستان), a place where *adab*, i.e., politeness, or good breeding, is taught.

2 Dabistan-ul-Mazāhab, published in 1815 at Bombay. The second edition appeared in 1845. Of this translator, Fardunji Murzbanji, his grandson Mr. Kaekobad Byramji Marzban, in his life of his grandfather “ફરદુનજી મર્ઝબાનજી, ગુજરાતી જાણના સ્થાપક, એક શીલસુક, એક સુધારક, એક કવી” says, that he himself was much of a

Fardunji Murzbanji, the pioneer of the Gujarati press in India. I will quote here what I have said elsewhere¹ about these two books: "Had it not been for the honoured name of Sir William Jones, 'the Columbus of the new Old World of Sanskrit and Persian literature', they would not have perhaps drawn that attention. Sir William Jones attached a good deal of importance to them, especially to the Dabistan, from the historical point of view. In his Asiatic Researches², he grew enthusiastic over the Dabistan and called its discovery 'a fortunate discovery' as dissipating a cloud and casting 'a gleam of light on the primeval history of Irân and of the human race', of which, he 'had long despaired and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter'."³ As the English translators say, "it was the state of religion, prevailing in those days in Hindostan, that he (the author) describes".⁴

At one time, one Mohsan Fani was taken to be the author of the Dabistan. Sir W. Jones took him to be so.⁵ Capt. Kennedy was the first to show that he was wrong.⁶ William Erskine supported him, on the authority of Sâdhu (of the type of Azar Kaiwan himself). તેઓ ખાવેપીવે અને રહેવે એક સાધુ જેવા હતા, i.e., "In his food, drink and living, he was like a Sâdhu."

1 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S. during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" (1905), p. 21.

2 Vol. II, pp. 43-66. The sixth Discourse on the Persians, delivered on 19th February 1789.

3 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 21.

4 Shea and Troyer, Translation, Vol. I, Preface, p. XV.

5 Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 48.

6 Preliminary remarks in his paper, "Notice respecting the Religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar." Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 256-286.

rity of the Gul-i-Rana, or Charming Rose of Lachmi Narayen, who flourished in Hyderabad.¹ Dastur Mulla Feroze supported them and explained, how the mistake arose. Mohsan Fani, having been quoted in the very beginning of the Dabistan, was mistaken for the author.²

The Dabistan is not original in some of its contents. For example, in its chapter on the Shahi Din (Chapter X; Sec. 2) it has taken well-nigh verbatim³ some passages from Badaoni's Muntakab-al-Tavârikh. As to some particulars about the author, whoever he may be, we find the following particulars,⁴ as gathered from his work :—

(1) He had come to India as a child from Persia, where he was born in about 1615 A.C. (2) In 1618 A.C. (H. 1028), Mobad Hushiyâr, one of Azar Kaiwan's disciples, carried him as a child to Bâlk Nâtha (بالک ناتھ),⁵ a great Yogi, to receive his blessings. (3) In 1623 A.C. (H. 1033), he went from Patna to Akbarabad (Agra). Mobad Hushiyâr carried him in his arms as a boy when he took him to Chatur Vapah (چتر وہ), an ascetic of the Nagar⁶ Brahmins (ناگر برہمن). (4) Between 1627 and 1643, he moved about, now and then, between Kashmir and Lahore. (5) Between 1634 and 1649, he visited several towns of Punjab and Gujarat. (6) When

1 *Ibid.* II, pp. 395-398. *Vide* p. 398.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," p. 127-28. .

3 *Vide* my paper on "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, No. 58, pp. 83-85.) *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," (1903), pp. 15-17.

4 *Vide* Shea and Troyer's account in the preface of the Translation of Dabistan, pp. XIII ff. 5 Bombay Ed. p. 152, l. 9.

6 Shea and Troyer are wrong in giving the name as Naga instead of Nagar (Vol. II, p. 142).

in Gujarat, he seems to have gone to Naosari, and to have had a talk, when there, with the well-known compiler of the Rivâyats, Dastur Burzo Kamdin. He may have got some information about Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism from this Burzo Kamdin.¹ (7) He was perhaps at Meshhad in 1643 and (8) at Sikakul in 1653. (9) He died in 1670, in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Contents of
the Dabistan as
given by the
Author.

As to what the Dabistan contains
we read as follows in the book itself :

درین نامه موسوم بدبستان لختی از دانش و کنش و کیش
باستانی کرده و گفتار و کردار باز پسین انبوه از آشکارا
شناسان و نهان بین صورت پرست و معنی گزین بی کم و کاست
و بغض و حسد و اثبات و ابطال گزارده آمد²

Translation:—In this book, named Dabistan, there is given some account (lakhti) of the knowledge and work and manners of the ancients, and of the words and actions of the later ones (*i.e.*, the moderns) (as described) by those who know what is known and see what is hidden (and by) the worshippers of outward forms (*i.e.*, exoterics) and the choosers of inner meaning (*i.e.*, esoterics). (All this is given) without lessening or diminishing anything, without hatred (بغض) or jealousy and without corroborating (asbât) or refuting (abtâl).

The Dabistan is divided into seven teachings (t'alim). Of these, the first t'alim is on the knowledge (m'arafat معرفت) of the faith

1 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster" in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 75-78. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers," pp. 204-5.

2 Bombay Ed. p. 2, l 9.

of the Parsis (غاید یارسیان). This first chapter is divided into 15 views (*nazar* نظر)¹. The first *nazar* treats of the beliefs, of the learning (علی) and of the practices (عملی) of the Sipāsians (one of the 13 sects of the Persians). The second *nazar* speaks of the revealings of the great men (بزرگان) of the Sipāsians.

The other 13 *nazars* of the first division of the Parsees are the following :—

3. The followers of the Book of Âbâd (احکام آباد).
4. Jamshâspis (جمشاسپیان).
5. Samradis (سرادیان).
6. Khodânis (خدانیان).
7. Radis (رادیان).
8. Shidrangis (شیدرنکیان).
9. Paekeris (پیکریان).
10. Milânis (ملانیان).
11. Alaris (الاریان).
12. Shidâbis (شیدابیان).
13. Akhshis (اکشیان).
14. Zardashtis (زردشتیان).
15. Mazdakis (مزدکیان).

The first sect, the Sipāsians, are also generally spoken of as the Parsees (پارسیان). They are also called Iranians (ایرانیان). Among these, there is a sect (perhaps a sub-sect) which is known as Yazdis (یزدیان) or Yezdanis (یزدانیان) or Abâdis (آبادیان) or Sepasis (سیاسیان) or Hushis (هوشیان) or Anushagân (انوشگان) or Âzar Hushangyans (آذر هوشنگیان) or Azaris (آذریان).

1 Shea and Troyer translate t'alim and nazar freely as Chapter and Section.

This division and sub-divisions show that, among the Parsees or Persians, there were several sects of various beliefs.

IV

SOURCES OF MATERIALS FOR THE FIRST CHAPTER (ON THE PERSIANS) OF THE DABISTAN.

From what the author of the Dabistan says, at the very end of his book,¹ it appears, that he met (بهرسیدند) learned representatives of the five great religions—the religions² of the Hindus (هندو), Jews (یهود), Magis (مجوس), Christians (نصارا) and Mahomedans (مسلمان) and learnt from them. He then wrote this book. In the matter of the very first chapter (تعلیم نخست) on the religion of the Parsian (عقاید پارسیان), he quotes, now and then, a number of their writings. They are the following³ :—

1. Amighân (امیغان)⁴.
2. Desatir (دساتیر)⁵.
3. Dâra-i-Askandar (دارای اسکندر)⁶ by Dâvar Hûryâr (داور هوریار) who was of the Kiyan (کیان) sect and a follower of the Yazdâniân faith.
4. Akhtarastân (اخترستان)⁷.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 334, l. 12.

2 Ibid. l. 16.

3 Vide Shea and Troyer's Vol. I, Preface p. XVII. Vide the Bombay Ed. of the text for the names in Persian, pp. 7, 8, 12, 24, 25, 35, 37.

4 Vide Shea and Troyer, Introduction page XVII. It gives the name as Amighastân. Bombay Ed. p. 7, l. 2.

5 Ibid. p. 8, l. 11.

6 Ibid. p. 12, l. 12.

7 Ibid. l. 19.

5. Jashan-e-Sadeh (جشن سده) by Mobad Hushiyâr (هوشیار)¹.
6. Sarûd-i-Mastân (سرود مستان) by Mobad Hûshiyâr².
7. Jâm-i-Kaikhusrû (جام کیخسرو) by Mobad Khudâ Jui (خدا جوی)³. It is a commentary (شرح) on the poetical writings (منظومه) of Azar Kaiwan.
8. Shârastân (شارستان)⁴ by Farzaneh Behram ebn Farhâd (فرزانه بهرام ابن فرهاد). This book is called "Sharastan-i-Dânesh va Gulistân-i-Binash" (شارستان دانش و گلستان بینش)⁵.
9. Zardasht Afshâr (زردشت افشار) by Mobad Sarush (سروش)⁶.
10. Nosh Darû (نوش دارو , i.e., pleasing drink) by the above Mobad Sarush⁷.
11. Sagangbin (سکنجین)⁸, i.e., Oxymel, a mixture of vinegar (سرکه) and honey (انکین), also by the above Mobad Sarush.
12. Bazam gâh (بزمگاه)⁹, place of assembly. Shea and Troyer say (Vol. I, p. XVIII) that the name of the author is not known; but, I think, it seems that he was Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) whose name is mentioned before its name¹⁰ (فرزانه خوشی میگفت و هم در بزمگاه آورده).
13. Arzang Mani (ارزنگ مانی) i.e., the house or the gallery of Mâni, by Farzaneh Behram, son of

1 Bombay Ed. p. 24, l. 5.

2 Ibid. p. 25, l. 18.

3 Ibid. p. 25, l. 18.

4 Ibid. l. 21.

5 A City of Knowledge and Rose-garden of Sight. Ibid p. 35.

11. 21-22.

6 Ibid. p. 26, l. 7.

7 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 13.

8 Ibid. The word is also written

سکنجین

9 Ibid. p. 34, l. 12.

10 Ibid.

Farhād, who was known as the small (کوچک) younger) or junior Bahram.¹

14. Tapreh-i-Mobadi (تپره موبدي), i.e., the Kettle-drum of the Mobads,² by Mobad Paristar (پرستار).
15. Dādistan-Aurseh (دادستان اورسه) ³.
16. Āmiz-i-Farhang (آمیز فرهنگ) ⁴ which treats of the Abadiyeh Derwishes (درویشان آبادیه).
17. Mihin Farosh⁵ مہین فروش
18. Andarz-i Jamshid ba Ābtin (اندرز جمشید بآبتین), i.e., Admonitions of Jamshed to Ābtin, by Farhang Dastur (فرهنگ دستور) ⁶.

. Shea and Troyer in their text (Preliminary Discourse, p. XVIII) name the next as No. 19 "Razabad composed by Shidab". The name Shidab is Shidah (شیدہ) ⁷ as properly given by them in the Index (Vol. III, p. 373, col. 2). But I do not think that is a separate authority. Again, as usual, these translators do not give the reference in the preliminary discourse. In the reference given by them in the Index, we do not find the name of the authority as Razabad. So, there seems to be some mistake on their part.

19. Samrād Nāmeḥ (سمراد نامہ), by Kāmgar (کامگار) ⁸.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 40, ll. 6-7.

2 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 20. It gives the name as دتپره Datapreh which is evidently a mistake. The د dal is added by mistake.

3 *Ibid.* p. 43, ll. 18-19. 4 *Ibid.* p. 48, l. 11. Shea and Troyer give the name as Amizash (Vol. I, p. 145).

5 This book, according to the Dabistan, speaks of a miracle of Zoroaster, not spoken of elsewhere, of Zoroaster keeping two evil-minded persons hanging in the air (Shea I, p. 244).

6 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* p. 64, l. 20.

8 *Ibid.* p. 66, l. 19.

20. Ramzastān (رزمستان) by Zardust¹.

The known books in the list of the Dabistan. Out of all the twenty books mentioned in the above list² the following four are known :—

1. The Desatir (No. 2).
2. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrū (No. 7) by Mobad Khudā Jui.
3. The Sharistan-i-Dānesh va Gulistan-i-Binash (No. 8), i.e., the City of Knowledge and the Garden of Sight, by Farzaneh Behram. I think that it is the same as that known as the "Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman".
4. The Zardasht Afshār (No. 9), by Mobad Sarosh.

The English translators of the Dabistan, after enumerating the books, say that "of the twenty-three books just enumerated, a part of the third³ only is known to us, namely, that of the Desatir."⁴ But they are mistaken. Three more also are known. I will briefly speak of these four.

As to the Desatir, referred to as an authority by the Dabistan, it was first brought to the notice of the learned public of India and then of Europe, by Dastur Mulla Feroze of Bombay, whose father Kāus had purchased a manuscript copy of it in 1778 A.C. at Isphahan. It was first published in two volumes, in 1818 A.C., by Mulla Feroze. The glossary of difficult and rare words was given by Mulla Feroze himself, and the English translation was given, with the help of Mulla Feroze, by Mr. William Erskine,

1 *Ibid.* p. 111, l. 17.

2 Shea and Troyer give the names of three more.

3 They make a mistake. It is the second in their list.

4 The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, Preface, p. XIX

the then Chief Police Officer of Bombay, who was requested by Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, to undertake the work. The first volume contains (a) the text of the Desatir in its original, in, what is called, a heavenly language, (b) translation and commentary in Persian, by Sasan V, and (c) the above said glossary. The second volume contains Erskine's translation.

When Jonathan Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, first came to know of it, he "considered himself as supremely fortunate in having at length made the longed-for discovery."¹ He requested Mulla Feroze "to show it to no person whatever, and, having undertaken a translation of it, continued to prosecute his work, at intervals, for several years, intending, on his return to England, to present it to His Majesty as the most valuable tribute which he could bring from the East".² But Duncan died in Bombay, before he could finish the translation. The discovery of the book in Bombay was made much of, even by Marquis Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, who, during his "public visitation" of the College of Fort William on the 15th July 1816 spoke of it as a "literary curiosity".³ But William Erskine began his work by setting this book in its proper position, as a book of no special importance in throwing any authentic light upon the history and religion of ancient Persia. The author of the book is not known, but he seems to have been a Mobad or Parsee priest.

The late Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, who

1 Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 368. 2 *Ibid.* p. 369. *Vide* the Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VIII. The Gujarati Ed. of 1848, Preface p. IX.

3 The Desatir (1818 A.C.) I, Preface p. VI.

studied the subject of the Desatir thoroughly, nearly a century after the first discussion on it, thus sums up his views: "It is erroneous to reckon the *Dasatir* as one of the genuine Zoroastrian writings, as it is neither coeval with the Avesta nor with the writings of the earlier Sasanian times. It is decidedly a production of still later times. Although its teaching is professedly antagonistic to the Mosaic, the Christian, the Manichean, the Mazdakian, and the Muhammadan doctrines, it does not also wholly agree with all the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. Its tendency is more towards the Hindu, Buddhistic and Platonic philosophies. For example, it prohibits the use of animal flesh as food, and encourages asceticism, self-mortification, celibacy, and renouncement of the world. Its treatment of the dead body by washing it with pure and rose water, and interring or burning it, is diametrically opposed to that of Zoroastrianism, to which all these methods are repugnant. It also considerably differs from the Zoroastrian writings in points of chronology,¹

¹ For an example of the calculation of time by the Dabistan, which often takes the Desatir as its authority, we have the following figures (Bombay Ed. p. 6. ll. 17-22. Shea and Troyer's translation Vol. I, p. 14):—

One Revolution of the Saturn $\text{کیوان دور حضرت} = 1 \text{ day (روز)}$

• „ „ 30 days = a month (ماه)

„ „ 12 months = a year (سال)

(هزار هزار) one million years = 1 Fird (فرد)

(هزار بار) „ Fard = 1 Verd (ورد)

„ Vard = 1 Mard (مرد)

„ Mard = 1 Jâd (جاد)

3000 Jâd = 1 Dâd (داد)

2000 Dâd = 1 Zâd (زاد)

Shea and Troyer give the word *dâd* as *wâd*.

mythology and history; and its so-called *âsmâni*, or celestial language, is decidedly a conventional jargon composed of later Pahlavi, Persian and Hindi dialects. The very syntax of the *Dasatir* betrays its recent origin. When we consider all these points we cannot put it in the category of the reliable orthodox Zoroastrian writings".¹

I will quote here, what I have said of the *Desatir*, elsewhere², as giving my views about it: "Now, what is it, that the *Desâtir* wants to teach us? It is something, that is Zoroastrian, and something, that is Brahminic and Buddhistic. It is, to a certain extent, *sufeistic* in its teachings. It contains the mystic ideas found in Zoroastrianism, Brahminism and Buddhism. It is a book of a certain sect of believers, who, now and then, appear in different countries, and in different ages, and who look to, what is called, the esoteric side of things, as opposed to the exoteric, and who look to the mystic side of almost all religions for their elements of belief. Erskine's estimate of the *Desatir* is well-nigh correct, when he says: 'Far from regarding the doctrines of the *Desatir* and the historical narrative of the *Dabistan* as resting on unexceptionable authority..... I consider the whole of the peculiar doctrine ascribed to Mahabad and Hoshang as being borrowed from the mystical doctrines of the Persian Sufis and from the ascetic tenets and practices of the Yogis and Sanyasis of India, who drew many of their opinions from the *Vadanti School*'.³"

1 The *Dasatir*, being a paper prepared for the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in 1894 A.C., by Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha (1907), p. 27.

2 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," p. 23.

3 *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. II, p. 393.

The word Desatir is plural of *dastur* (دستور), *i.e.*, a rule, a canon, a learned man. The Pers. plural would be Dasturân. So, some scholars argue, that it cannot be an old Persian book. Other readings are Destânir in one manuscript.¹ The Bombay edition in one place gives it as Vasatir (وساتیر).² In this name the د (dal) may have been misread as و (vâv). In the Desatir we read vâdan (وادن) for dâdan (دادن) and vâram (وارم) for dâram (دارم).

The Dabistan quotes Desatir as a work of the Sipâsians, *i.e.*, "the adherents of the most ancient religion of Persia." As to the time when the Desatir was written, the Persian translator and commentator of the Desatir is said to be Sâsân-i- Panjâm, *i.e.*, the 5th Sassan,³ who is said to have lived in the times of Khusru Parviz. If that be so, the Persian rendering was in the 7th century A.C. The original Desatir, in its peculiar language in that case, must be taken as having been written long before that. But the linguistic examination of the old language does not permit us, as pointed out by Mr. Sheriarji Bharucha, to place it in very olden times.

Mr. Norris speaks of the old language as "nothing more than 'Deri disguised'."⁴ He also speaks of it as an invented jargon. Sylvestre de Sacy decided against the antiquity of the book and its language.⁵ William

1 Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 20, n. 1.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 8, l. 11.

3 The 1st Sassan is said to have flourished in the times of Alexander the Great, *i.e.*, about 323 B.C.

4 The Asiatic Journal for November 1820, Vol. X, pp. 421-430. The article of Norris is quoted in full by Dastur Kekobad, the successor of Mulla Feroze, in his Gujarati Edition of 1848 A.C., Preface pp. XLI-XLVII.

5 Vide Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, I Preface p. XXXVI.

von Schlegel called the language a "refined forgery."¹ I do not think, that the language may be called an intentional forgery. Some mystic writers aim at a kind of secrecy in the expression of their doctrines. So, in this book also, the author used, what he thought to be a mystic dialect made up from the dialects of the different regions, from which he drew his mystic tenets.²

The second known book is Jam-i Kaikhusru. The

Persian text of this book was published
2. Jām-i-Kai- in 1848 by Sayad Abdul Fattah, *urfe* Mir
khusru.

Ashrafally (عبدالقادر المعروف سيد اشرف علي) in 1848, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, under the title of کتاب جام کیخسرو شرح مکاشفات³ آذرکیوان تصنیف خدا جوی ابن نامدار. It also contains a Gujarati translation bearing the title: અશરફાલી કાશ્ફાત અઝરકીવાન તસવીફ હુદા જોઈ બનનારો.

As to the object for writing this book, the author Khuda Jui says: "Several Yazdanians wished from me (who am) a wine bibler⁴ (a drunkard) and a seeker of the light of God,⁵ by name Khuda Jui Nāmdār, that I may write a commentary upon the revelations (mushāhadāt) of the king or leader of the philosophers of the 'Ishraqi Sect' (i.e., the Illuminati), who is Azar Kaiwan." Khuda Jui accepted the request. As one of those, who requested him to write the book, was Kaikhusru, son of Kaiwan, he named (موسوم ساخت) the book Jām-i-Kaikhusru.

1 *Ibid.* p. XLV.

2 *Vide my* "Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S.," p. 25.

3 Makāshafāt, "revelations, ecstasies, ecstatic contemplations of God."

4 بادہ نوش, lit., a drinker of wine. Here, the word wine is used in the Sufistic sense of "divine knowledge".

5 بزم انوار Bazam, in Arabic, means "biting with the front teeth, milking with the forefinger, stealing a garment" (Steingass). The word in a Sufistic sense means 'a seeker of knowledge'.

The mention of the name of Kaiwan here, as the father of Kaikhusru who was a leading man, after Dastur Azar Kaiwan of the Ishraqi sect, to which Dastur Azar Kaiwan belonged, had led some, for example, Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana, to mistake him to be the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. But this Kaiwan and Azar Kaiwan are different persons. The book consists of 4 *gushasbs* (گشسب), i.e., Splendour or Light. The first *gushasb* is on visions or dreams (رويا و رؤيا). The second is on hidden or mystic subjects (حالت غيب). The third is on the condition of recovering from ecstatic conditions (حالت محو). And the fourth is on drawing out one's soul from the body (خلع). The first *gushasb* is divided into 11 *farugs* (فروغ) or Lights. Though this work is written by Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Khuda Jui, it may be taken as containing a writing of Azar Kaiwan himself, because, it is a commentary on a work of Azar Kaiwan. The book therefore is ordinarily known as Makashafat-i-Kaiwan (مکاشفات کيوان), i.e., Revelations of Kaiwan. The author of the book was, as said above, Mobad Khuda Jui (مباد خدا جوي), i.e., one in search of God. The text, which the English translators of the Dabistan have followed, gives the name as Khuda Jai, (i.e., the place of God or one who makes God his place). But, the name Khuda Jui seems to be more significant. The Bombay edition gives it as Khuda Jui. Not only that, but the Persian text of the book itself, which, Shea and Troyer, as they themselves seem to say¹, had not seen, also gives the name as Khuda Jui.²

The Sharistān is spoken of in the Dabistan as Sharistān-i-Dānesh va Gulistān-i-Binash, 3. The Sharistān. (i.e., City of Wisdom and Garden of

¹ Vol. I, Preface p. XIX.

² The Bombay Ed. of Abdul Fattah (1848), *Vide* Persian title-page l. 3; *Vide* also 1st page of Pers. preface l. 9.

Sight). It is the same as the Sharistan, ordinarily known as the Sharistan-i-Chehâr Chaman (*i.e.*, the City of Four Gardens).¹ It also is said to have been written by Farzaneh Behram bin Farhad Aspandiyar Parsi (بهرام بن فرهاد اسفندیار پارسی). The author, with some others, had Farzâneh (فرزانه) prefixed to his name as a title. The author² was a well known disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He traced his descent from Godrez Keshwâd, the Prime Minister of Kaikhusru. The proper old Pahlavi form of Sharistan³ is 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 Shatrostân. The proper Persian form would be Shehrastân (شهرستان). The author was a

1 Manuscript of the Mulla Feroze Library, presented by Bai Shirinbai, the widow of Mr. Merwanji Khodabakhsh (Catalogue by Edward Rehatzek, VIII, 56, p. 204), folio 2a, l. 13. The Mulla Feroze Library has a manuscript of the version, not a full translation, of this work by Dastur Edulji Darabji Rustomji Sanjanâ, in, what he called, the Hindi, *i.e.*, Gujarati language. It is a free version with comments, here and there, of the translator (દશદુર એકલ બીન દશદુર દારાબ બીન રસ્તમ બીન બેદરમ લકબ શંજાણી). The Ms. of the version has, in all, 548 folios, *i.e.*, 1096 pages, written in a beautiful Gujarati hand. It was presented to the Library in 1914, by the late Mr. Jamshedjee Bomanjee Wadia, a Trustee of the Wadia Fire Temple, of which the translator was the Dastur. The Library has another Ms. in Persian dated 19, *mah* 3, year 1179, written at the direction of Khodabax Meherban of Yazd (The above catalogue, *ibid.* No. 57, *vide* f. 251a for the date).

2 For an account of the author as given in the Dabistan, *vide* below.

3 A lithographed text is published in Bombay in (Yazdazardi) 1223, *i.e.*, 1854 A.C., by Shiavakhsh ibn Hormuzdiyar Yazdani Irani, p. 664, l. 12. Its title runs thus, as given in English: "Shâristân-i Chehâr Chaman by Furzane Behram bin Furhad, published by Behdin Shiavux bin Hormuzdiyar Irani, Bombay. Lithographed at Dadoomiya's Press, in the year of Zoroaster 2243, Yezdjerd 1223, A.D. 1854," p. 1. This title page is preceded by 6 prefatory pages in Persian, wherein the publisher says (p. 5, l. 14) that he was helped by Mr. Manockji Sorabji Ashuran (Ashburner).

learned Zoroastrian, versed in Arabic also. He quotes from the Koran also.¹

The work has four *chamans*. By *chaman* or garden, the author means a division. The four *chamans* of the first *chaman* treats of Creation. The Sharistân.

second treats of the Kayanian kings and other miscellaneous advices. The third *chaman* treats of the Askanians and the Sassanians. The fourth *chaman* is said to have treated of Azar Kaiwan and of his ancestors and of their mystic practices. But, it (the fourth *chaman*) does not exist, because the Dabistan itself is supposed to form the fourth *chaman*. Dastur Edalji D. Sanjana says :—“તે મધે ચમન ૩ તરણુ રેહ્યાં છે અને ચોથું ચમન છે જ નહીં પણ અમોએ કેતાબનો તરજુમાનો કરનાર અરજ કરે છે કે જે અમોએ અમારા ઉશતાદ રશત મજથી સાંભલી છે”² Dastur Edalji says, in this passage, that, out of the four *chamans*, only three exist. The fourth does not exist at all, but he had heard it from his teacher (ustâd), Rustamji, that the Dabistan itself formed the fourth *chaman* and that it was all according to the Hindu religion. His teacher was his grand-father Rustumji, a learned Dastur of his time.

This seems to be a very important statement, and it seems to lead to the solution of the question, as to who the author of the Dabistan was. It seems to say, that Farzaneh Behram was the author of the Dabistan. But, in that case, one may say: “How can then Farzaneh Behram speak of himself, in the Dabistan, in the list of Azar Kaiwan’s disciples, in the third person?” But we must not judge of olden authors and of their old ways of writing by our present standard.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 3, l. 2, Dastur Edalji Sanjana’s version, fol.

3a, l. 15.

2 Folio 6b, l. 16, of Dastur Edalji’s version.

Zardasht Afshar (زردشت افشار) was written by Mobad Sarosh ibn Kaiwan ibn Kâmgar
 4. Zardasht Afshâr. (موبد سروش ابن کيوان ابن کامگار).¹ This book, with two other books on similar subjects, was published in the Durbin Press of Bombay, at the instance of the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.² Then, Sir Jamsetjee got it translated, by Mobad Dossabhai Sohrabji Munshi, and published in 1848 at the Jam-i-Jamshed Press. The other two Persian treatises, published and translated with this, are Khishtâb and Zindeh-rod. The Gujarati translation bears the name, “કેતાબે ખેશતાબ ઝરદેશત અફશાર તથા જીવદેહ રોદ.” The book was published by the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund.³ As I have not come across the original Persian, I will say here a few words about it, on the authority of the above Gujarati version. According to the translation, the author blesses, among others, one Kaikhusru Asfandiyar : આચે જમાનાનો ઈમામ કેખશરો અશકંદીઆર, કે જે હજરત આજર કચેવાનનો બેટો છે તે કપર (૬૩૬) હેજ્રે⁴. Here he speaks of Kaikhusru, as the son of Azar Kaiwan. This is, as pointed out by me above, a mistake.

The author says that Azar Kaiwan himself named it as “Zar-i-dasht Afshâr,” and adds in a foot-note, that Zar-i-Dasht Afshâr was a certain gold (zar) in the treasury of Khusru Purviz (તે અંક જતવું શોવું જે ખશરો પરવેજના ખજાનામાં હતું તે ખીનતી ખીસાલે નરમ હતું અને તે શોનાથી જેવી મુરતી બનાવવા ચાહતા હતા તેવી ખનતી હતી.)

Thus, it was a kind of malleable gold that seems

1 Bom. Ed. p. 261, l. 27 ; p. 37, l. 6.

2 Vide ખેશતાબ-જરદેશત અફશાર તથા જીવદેહ રોદ, by Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi (1848), p. 11. I have not come across its Persian text.

3 Vide my Gujarati History of the Parsi Panchayat, Vol. II, p. 827. 4 P. 2 of the second part of the Gujarati book.

to have given its name to the book.¹ So, if we accept the significance, the word Dasht, in the words Dasht Afshâr may perhaps be Persian Dasht (دشت), meaning "dry musk", and afshâr (افشار) may mean "squeezing out". But the significance seems to be doubtful. The English translators of the Dabistan mean by Zardasht Afshâr, "the companion (afshâr) of Zardusht". But, on looking to the contents of the book, as given in the Gujarati work, I do not find any reason or ground to associate it with Zardusht or Zoroaster. The work is divided into 37 parts called Qual, i.e., words.

V

AZAR KAIWAN.

Now I will give some particulars about Azar Kaiwan and his disciples as mainly collected from the Dabistan. According to the Dabistan², Azar Kaiwan was the chief (سر) of the modern or the last (متاخرين) Âbadian or Azar Hushangian sect (کروه).

His ascending genealogy was as follows: Azar Kaiwan

—Azar Gushasb—Azar Zardusht—Azar
 Azar Kaiwan's
 Pedigree. Barzin—Azar Khârîn—Azar Âin (آين)—
 Azar Behrâm—Azar Nûsh—Azar Mehtar
 —the younger (کتر) Azar Sassan, called the 5th Sassan
 —the elder Azar Sassan³, called the 4th Sassan—the young
 Azar Sassan, called the 3rd Azar Sassan—elder Azar
 Sassan, known as the 2nd Sassan—the Great (مترک) Azar

1 For a towel made of such gold in the treasury of Khusru Parviz, *vide* my paper "Eighteen remarkable Things or Events of the Reign of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II) of Persia" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol: II (New Series), No. 2, p. 124. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part IV, p. 32).

2 2nd Nazar, Bombay Ed., p. 29, l. 8.

3 The word اين in the Bombay ed. p. 29, l. 10, is a mistake for ابن.

Sassan, called the 1st Azar Sassan—young (خورد) Darab—old Darab—Bahman—Asfandiyār—Gustāsp—Luhrāsp—Arvand—Kai Nashin—Kaikobad—Zab—Nodar—Minochehr—Irach of the descent from Faridun—Ābtin of the descent from Jamshed—Tehmuras—Hushang—Siāmāk—Kayomars—Yāsān Ajām of the descent from Yāsān—Shai Mahbul of the descent from Shai Kaliv—Jai Ālād of the descent from Jai Afrām—Abād Azad of the descent from Meh Abad, who had appeared and become resplendent in the beginning of the great cycle¹. (مین جرخ).

The mother of Azar Kaiwan was Shirin, the daughter of Humayun Nami², who was descended from Khusru, the Just (Dādgar) Noshirwan.

It is said that, from his very fifth year, Azar Kaiwan began having less food and sleep. We read : آذر کوان بازلی³ تااید⁴ و یزدانی نیرو از پنج
Azar Kaiwan's Mysticisim and Retirement. *i.e.*, سالگی بکم خوری و شب بیداری پرداخت⁵.

Azar Kaiwan, with eternal help and divine strength, took to less eating and wakefulness, from his age of five.

He reduced his food to the weight of one diram (درم وزن)⁶. For 28 years, he sat in Khum (درخوم نشست)⁷.

1 Bombay Ed. p. 29, l. 16. Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

2 Nâmi may be an adjective, *i.e.*, the well-known.

3 Azali, eternity.

4 Ta'yid, help.

5 Bom. Ed. p. 29, l. 18.

6 *Ibid.* l. 20.

7 *Ibid.* l. 22. Shea and Troyer translate as "the abode in Khum," as if Khum was the name of a place; but *khum* here is a common noun, meaning a jar. In my copy of the Bombay lithographic edition (p. 29, l. 22) a reader has properly put down the meaning in Gujarati as *મિટ*, *i.e.*, an earthen pot. Such postures formed a rule for those who practised riâzat. The word seems to have been miswritten as *خوم* in place of *خم*. This story of Azar Kaiwan living in a *khum* or jar reminds us of the story of Parshadgô Khambyân of the Bundeesh

In his later days, he came to India from Iran, and remained here for some time in the city of Patna (پٹنہ). He died there in 1027 Hijri, i.e., 1617-18 A.C. He lived for 85 years and always practised *ri'azat*.

The Dabistan then gives some further particulars on the authority of the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram (شارستان فرزانه بهرام). It says that Azar Kaiwan from the very beginning (در نخست), i.e., boyhood, sought knowledge. So, the great philosophers (علمای سترگ) of Yunan, Hind and Pars (Greece, India and Persia) appeared to him, in dreams (khâb), and instructed him with all kinds of knowledge. Once, when he was at Madresseh (school), he answered there all questions and solved all difficulties. So, he was named Zu-l-ulm (ذوالعلوم), i.e., Master of Sciences. According to the Dabistan, Sayyad Hasan Shirazi (سید حسن شیرازی), a learned pious man, tells the following story about Azar Kaiwan: Once, two followers of Sufism (متصوفین) met Azar Kaiwan, and discussed with him some questions as oppositionists (راه انکار ذوالعلوم پیش گرفتند) and did not treat him well with respect. Their teacher, one night, saw in dream the Prophet, who asked him to tell his disciples that Azar Kaiwan¹ is a man perfect in divine knowledge (کامل و رسیده). The Holy Prophet said many words of praise for Azar Kaiwan and asked the teacher to see him personally. Sayyad Hasan says, that the *murshid*, i.e., the teacher, repeated in his ecstasy (سکر) several times the above mentioned panegyric (ستایش), uttered by the Prophet, and that he put that down in writing. On being free from his sleep of ecstasy (Chap. XXIX, 5, the Fradhakhsti Khunbya of the Farvardin Yasht, 138. Vide my Bundeesh, pp. 146-147) who was believed to have been brought up in a *khum*.

1 Shea and Troyer here give the name as Ali Kaiwan, but the Bombay Ed. (p. 30, l. 15) gives the name correctly as Azar Kaiwan.

(خواب یخودی), the teacher awoke (انگیخت) the Sayyad and inquired, as to who Azar Kaiwan in the city was, before whom the Prophet had asked him to go. The Sayyad said that since some time past, he had come from Istakhar (استخر). The teacher asked the Sayyad to take him to Azar Kaiwan. But the Sayyad did not know where he lived. However, both started to find him out. When they proceeded a little, Farhad (فرهاد), a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, met them and said, that Azar Kaiwan wanted them and that he had sent him, to show them the way. When they went to Azar Kaiwan, the teacher had thought of first saluting him; but before he could do so, Azar Kaiwan saluted him in Persian and began to converse in Arabic. They were surprised (فروماندیم). The teacher then described his dream to Azar Kaiwan who asked him to keep the matter secret (یرده ازیں راز برمکنید). The teacher, on going home, directed his two disciples to be respectful to Azar Kaiwan.

According to the Sharistan of Farzaneh Behram, Azar Kaiwan did not mix with people other than his disciples. He had the power of removing his soul (روان) from his body (تن) and of re-entering it. He forbade eating flesh and killing living animals and injuring animals (گوشت خوردن و جانور کشتن و جادار آزدن).

Azar Kaiwan advised (a) that the beliefs of his sect may be kept secret, (b) that one must stick to his own faith² (بر همین عقیده باش که خدای تا اکنون آنچه خواست), and (c) that the knowledge of perishable thing is no knowledge (معرفت فانی معرفت نیست).³

1 Bom. Ed. p. 32. l. 9.

2 Ibid. p. 32, l. 17.

3 Ibid. l. 19.

At one time, one expressed surprise to Azar Kaiwan

His views in relation to the destruction of the Fire-temples of Iran and the Shiah sect.

for the fact, that the Shiahites (متبن شعی) opposed men like the great (akbar) truthful (حضرت صدیق اکبر)¹ and the great justiciary² (فاروق اعظم) and the master of the two lights (ذوالنورین)³ who had made great attempts (بسا کوشش) for the good of the people. Azar Kaiwan said that the generality of people are carried away by time and place against the cause of the truth of belief (عوام گرفتار زمان و مکاتند برخلاف تحقیق کیشان).⁴ The above great men destroyed the Fire-temples (آتشکده ها) and the ancient faith (دین سابق) of the Iranians. So, the Iranians, who all have adopted the Shiah faith, have always been cherishing revolt and envy (بعض و حسد) against them.⁵

1 This is a reference to Abou Bakar, who was called the truthful, because he is said to have "attested the miracle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven" (Shea p. 99). Shea and Troyer are wrong in taking the word "akbar" to be a proper noun for the great Indian ruler Akbar. It is not correct to say of him that he was one of those who destroyed Fire-temples. On the contrary, he is said to have founded one in his palace. The other two great personages referred to are Omar and Osman.

2 Fâruq (فاروق) Discoverer. "Surname of Omar (as discriminating between truth and falsehood, at an early stage of Islam or as making orthodoxy distinct from, i.e., triumphant over, infidelity)" (Steingass).

3 Zu-n-nurain = Master of two lights. "Name of the Caliph Osman (as having married two daughters of Mohommad)" (Steingass).

4 Bom. Ed. p. 33, l. 2.

5 What is meant seems to be this: "The above great personages destroyed the Fire-temples and the religion of the ancient Iranians. So, the later Iranians, who had adopted the Shiah faith, which contained elements of the ancient Zoroastrian faith, did not forget this injury done to the faith of their forefathers who were all Zoroastrians,

The date of the death of Azar Kaiwan, as given by different authors, differs. The Bombay Edition of 1262 Hijri (1846 A.C.) gives it as 1027 (هزار و بیست و هفت), i.e., 1617-18¹.

The Gujarati translator of the Dabistan, Mobad Far-dunji Marzban gives the Hijri year 1027 (i.e., 1618 A.C.). Dastur Edalji Dorabji Sanjana, in the introductory portion of his Gujarati version of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman, gives the year as 1018 Hijri (1609 A.C.). He says : ૬૦૧૮ “આજરે કચ્છવાન શને ૧૦૧૮ હીજરીના વરશમાં મુજરેઆ છે”. He does not give his authority for this Hijri year 1018 (i.e., 1609 A.C.). Mr. Bomanji B. Patel in his *Parsee Prakāsh* (Vol. I, p. 10) gives the year of the death as 1614 A.C. on the authority of a copy (p. 209) of the Dabistan published in 1262 Hijri in Lachman Press of Bombay. Thus, we are given three dates of his death, viz., A.C. 1609, 1614 and 1618. I think that we must take the date, as given in the text of the Dabistan, viz., 1027 Hijri (i.e., 1618 A.C.) as the correct date.

Azar Kaiwan died at the age of 85 (هشتاد و پنج سال با) (Date of his arrival in India. ²عنصري پیکر بود), i.e., for 85 years, he remained united with the elements of the body (lit. was element faced). So, he must have been born in about (1618 — 85) 1533. From his age of 5 years he began to show the tendencies of a recluse and therefore, now and then, revolted.” This is a reference to the generally accepted belief, that the Shiāhs of Iran, though they accepted the new religion of the great Mahomedan prophet, under the stress of circumstances, they have not forgotten, that, after all, they were the progeny of the ancient Zoroastrians, whose Fire-temples and faith were destroyed by the early Arab conquerors.

1 The translators, Shea and Troyer, give the corresponding year as 1673 A.C., which is evidently a mistake.

2 Bombay. Ed. p. 30, l. 3.

and a mystic (از پنج سالگی بکم خوری و شب بیداری پرداخت)¹ and ate only one diram² weight of food (غذاش یکی درم وزن رسید).³ He sat in a jar for 28 years (ببست و هشت سال در خم نشست).⁴ So, if we take it that he began passing his time in a jar⁵ from the above very early age of 5, he must have continued sitting in this way till the age of (5 plus 28) 33 years, i.e., upto (1533 plus 33) 1566 A.C. Then he is said to have come to India in later days (باز پسین روز)⁶. The words *bâz pasîn*, i.e., later, are rather vague. But, we must take the words in the sense of "long afterwards", say, about 15 or 20 years after his leaving off his close retirement. So, we may take it, that he came to India, some time about 1581 to 1585 A.C., i.e., about the 40th year of the life of Akbar, who died in 1605. So, what Mobad Dossabhai Sorabji Munshi says, in the preface (p. 6) of his Gujarati translation of Ketâb-i-Khestâb Zardasht Afshar and Zindehrud⁷, that he came to Patna in the time of Akbar is correct.

1 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 18.

2 A diram, according to Steingass, corresponds to a Greek Drachma, which, according to Webster, is 2 dwt. 7 grains, i.e., 55 grains. Mobad Fardunji Murzban, in his translation of the Dabistan (1st Ed. published on 25th December 1805, p. 172), gives the weight as that of 48 grains of barley (૪૮ એડતાલીસ જવ બરાબર ખાણું ખાવા લાગે).

3 *Ibid.* p. 29, l. 20. 4 *Ibid.* l. 22.

5 Shea and Troyer take خم khum to be a town. This seems to be a mistake. Fardunji Marzban very properly translated અધારી તંગ જગ, i.e., dark narrow place (1st Ed., p. 173).

6 Bom. Ed. p. 29, l. 22.

7 દીલીના પાદશાહ અકબર શાહના વખતમાં 'પટના' નામના શહેરમાં આવીએ હતા. (કેતાબે ખેશ્તાબ-જરેદશત અફશાર તથા જીન્દહેરુદ ૩૬ ૧૮૪૮ ઈસવી પા. ૬). Of these three books, the Kheshtâb is said to be a translation, in the Persian of the time, by Mobad Sarosh, a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. The original was written by one Hakim Khastâb in the time of Khusru Purviz. It was also known as Garzan-i-Danesh (کرزن دانش)

Mr. B. B. Patel, in his *Parsi Prakāsh* (Vol. I, p. 10), speaks of Azar Kaiwan as a Dastur. We have not the authority of the Dabistan or the Sharistan-i-Chehar Chaman to speak of him as such. But Mobad Fardunji Marzban, in his translation of the Dabistan, began speaking of him as Dastur (દસતર ઉચરત અગરે કેવાન, i.e., Dastur pious Azar-i-Kaiwan).¹ Then others followed suit.

Some later writers speak of Azar Kaiwan having a son. It looks strange, that a mystic like him, who had mystic tendencies from the age of five, and who is said to have confined himself in a narrow congested place, and who had retired from the world for 28 years, should have a son. So, I will say here a few words on this subject. It seems, that the name of a person, named Kai-khusru having been mentioned as the son of Kaiwan (کیخسرو ابن کیوان), has led some Parsi writers to commit the mistake of speaking of there being a son of Azar Kaiwan. Khuda Jui, the son of Nāmdār (خدا جوی ابن نامدار),²

i.e., the Crown of Wisdom. The author of the first book, Khastāb was a disciple of the 5th Sassan. The second book, Zardasht Afshar, is said to have been translated by Dadpai bin Mobad Hosh Ayin. Originally, it was written by one Hash-gui and it was called Azar Goshasp. According to the Dabistan, the later version was by a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, viz., Mobad Sarosh bin Kaiwan bin Kamgar, whose pedigree went to Zoroaster. The third book, Zindeh Rod, was also rendered into the then Persian by the above named Dadpai. Its original name was Chasmah-i-Zindagi. It was originally written in the reign of Khusru Purviz by a sage named Zindeh Azarm (*vide* pp. 5-7 of the preface of Mobad Dossabhai S. Munshi's Khestāb, etc.).

1 *Vide* his translation of the Dabistan, pp. 169 ff.

2 The Persian text of the work of Sayad Abdul Fattah, p. 2, l. 6. The title of the book is “મકારોક્તિ કબેવાન અથવા નમે કેખશર. શઈઅહ અબદુલ ફતા ઉરફ મીર અશરફ અલી મુનશી. ૧૮૪૮.”

who was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, had, as said above, written a work named *Jām-i-Kaikhusrū*. It was on the subject of the revelations (مکاشفات) or ecstasies of Azar Kaiwan.¹ He named it *Jām-i-Kaikhusrū* because one Kaikhusrū ibn Kaiwan had desired him to write it.² The Gujarati translator writes: “આએ મુકારોફાતે કબેવાની માહા વીદેઆવાંન આજર કબેવાની ફારશીમાં નેડેલી આશરે ૩૨૫ બેતામાં હતી. તેહેની કેખશર ઈબને કબેવાનના હોકમથી ખુદાજુએ ઈબને નામદારે ફારશીમાં શરેહ બનાવી હતી અને એ કેતાબતું નામ નબે કેખશર રાખેલું હતું.”³

It seems that the above name, Kaikhusrū ibn Kaiwan, led some subsequent writers to take it, that this Kaikhusrū was the son of Dastur Azar Kaiwan. We read in the Gujarati translation of the *Khestāb*: “મોટા પેગંબરોનો ખલીફો અને નખી લોકોનાં આગેવાન લોકોનો કાએમ મોકાંમ હજરત આજર કેવાનના બેટા કેખશર આશફંદીઆરે મહને ફરમાવેલું.....”⁴ Here we see that this author, Mobad Dossabhai Munshi, has mistaken the name Kaiwan of the *Jām-i-Kaikhusrū* to be Azar Kaiwan. Here, the important words are “Kaikhusrū Ashfandyār, the son of Azar Kaiwan”. Now, if this Kaikhusrū was the son of Azar Kaiwan, how can his name be mentioned as “Kaikhusrū Asfandiyār”, i.e., Kaikhusrū, son of Asfandiyār. Mobad Dossabhai Munshi has inadvertently committed the mistake of calling him the son (બેટા) of Azar Kaiwan.

The same translator has committed a similar mistake in his translation of the *Zardasht Afshar*. He writes: “આએ જમાનાનો ઈમામ ‘કેખશરો અશફંદીઆર’ કેજે હજરત આજર કબે-

1 *Ibid.* p. 1 of the Persian *Dibācheh* of the author.

2 *Ibid.* p. 3, l. 4.

3 P. 3 of the Gujarati translation of the *Jām-i-Kaikhusrū*, published by Munshi Abdul Fattah at the instance of the 1st Sir Jamsetjee.

4 કેતાબે ખેશતાબ જરદશત અફશાર તથા જનદેહ રોહ by Mobad Dossabhai S. Munshi. 1848. P. 2 of the second batch of pages.

વાનનો બેટો છે.”¹ He has again repeated the same mistake in his translation of the Zindeh-rud (ઝન્દેહ રૌદ) where he says: “કેખશરો અશકુંદીઆર’ કે જે હજરત ‘આજર કચેવાન’નો બેટો થાય.”²

Dastur Edalji Sanjana also erroneously infers from a passage of the Sharistan (Text. p. 3, l. 11) that he had a son. He writes in his version: “કેતાબનો જોડનાર શાએર ફરજને બેહરામ બેન ફરહાદ પારશી લખે છે જે એ કેતાબ જોડવાનો બીજો શબ્દ એ છે જે અમારો શાહેબ જોડો ૧ કેખશરો નામનો છે તે હજરત આજરે કેવાનનો બેટો છે ને હમનાં પોતાના બાપથી જોડો પડીને. પુરા લોકોની શોહોબત પડી હતી...તેહને રાહમાં લાવાને વાશતે એ કેતાબ શકુંદી ભરેલી એબારત શાહે જોડી છે.” (f. 4 b).

The Persian text speaks of Kaikhusru as *مخدوم زاد عالم اشرف کیخسرو*, i.e., born of a lord, the noble learned Kaikhusru. But Dastur Edalji has taken “Makhdum-zadeh” as “son of Lord Azar Kaiwan,” though Azar Kaiwan’s name is not mentioned. His manuscript translation of the Sharistan bears no colophon. So, we are not in a position to say, whether he followed Ervad Dossabhai Munshi or Ervad Dossabhai Munshi followed him. Under all these circumstances, we must conclude that it is not the case that Azar Kaiwan who was inclined from childhood to a quiet meditative mystic way of life, was married and that he had a son named Kaikhusru. The writer, Ervad Dossabhai, seems to have been misled by a similarity of names.

VI

THE DISCIPLES OF AZAR KAIWAN.

The school of Azar Kaiwan’s disciples contained, both, much learned and less learned, The School of Azar Kaiwan’s Sufism. Sufists. Some seem to be simply experimenting mystics, i.e., those who seemed

1 *Ibid.* the third batch of pages, p. 2.

2 *Ibid.* the fourth batch of pages, p. 1.

to observe certain practices without resorting much to the study of doctrines; and some were doctrinaires, *i.e.*, those who resorted more to doctrines than to observances. Some of these were authors of learned works—learned from the point of view of dialectics and theology. One or two seem to be ordinary disciples, inasmuch as they did not even abstain from meat diet and carried on commerce.

Azar Kaiwan had a number of disciples, Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian. Some had come with him from Persia. One Zoroastrian had gone from Surat to meet him at Patna. The Dabistan has spoken in some details, more or less, of 13 principal Zoroastrian disciples. Among the non-Zoroastrian disciples, 7 were Mahomedans, 2 Jews, 1 Christian, and 1 Brahmin. I give below a list of his 13 Zoroastrian disciples and will then give a brief account of each of them.

Out of the number of disciples whom Azar Kaiwan had, the author of the Dabistan¹ had met some personally in Kashmir.

I. Zoroastrian Disciples.

1. Farzaneh Kharrâd (فرزانه خراد Bom. Ed. p. 34).
2. Farzaneh Farshidward (فرزانه فرسیدورد).
3. Farzaneh Kheradmand (فرزانه خردمند p. 35).
4. Farzaneh Behram (فرزانه بهرام).
5. Mobad Hushyâr of Surat (موبد هوشیار p. 36).
6. Another Mobad Hushiyâr (موبد هوشیار p. 37).
7. Mobad Sarosh (موبد سروش p. 37).
8. Khudâ Jui (خدا جوي p. 39).
9. Farzaneh Behram the younger (فرزانه بهرام کوچک p. 40).

¹ Bom. Ed. pp. 34 *et seq.* Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 105 *et seq.*

10. Mobab Parastar (موبد پرستار p. 40.)
11. Mobad Peshkar (موبد پیشکار p. 41.)
12. Shidush (شیدوش p. 41.)

Then, on the authority of Mobad Khurshid, the writer of Bazamgah (بزنگاه), the Dabistan names the following twelve without giving any particulars about them,¹ and says that they all ate food under ten dirams in weight:—

1. Ardeshir (اردشیر).
2. Kharrâd (خراد).
3. Shiruyeh (شیرویه).
4. Kheradmand (خردمند).
5. Farhâd (فرهاد).
6. Sohrâb (سهراب).
7. Azâdeh (آزاده).
8. Bizan (بیژن).
9. Asfandiyâr (اسفندیار).
10. Farshidward (فرشیدورد).
11. Bahman (بهمن).
12. Rustam (رستم).

II. Non-Zoroastrian Disciples.

The following were the non-Zoroastrian disciples of Azar Kaiwan :—

1. Mahamad Ali Shirazi² (محمد علی شیرازی).
2. Mahamad S'ayid Isphahani³ (محمد سعید اصفهانی).
3. 'Ashûr Beg Qarâmânlu.⁴ (عاشور بیگ قرمانلو).

¹ Bom. Ed. p. 39, l. 13 ff. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 119.

² Bom. Ed. of the Dabistan, p. 43, l. 21. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44, l. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* l. 11

4. Mahmud Beg Tamin¹ (محمود بيگ تمين).
5. Musa (a Jew)² (موسى).
6. Hârun (a Jew)³ (هارون).
7. Antun Bâshuyeh Vavarj (اتون بشويه واورج)
(a Portuguese فرنگ), who ran after the religion
of the Christians.⁴
8. Râm Bhat (رام بهت), a learned Hindu Brahmin of
of Benarâs (براهمه بنارس).⁵
9. Mir-abu-l-Quasam Fandarski (مير ابو القاسم فند رسكي)
who was a sun worshipper (آفتاب پرستي).⁶
10. Mehrâb⁷ (مهرباب).
11. Mâh-âb (ماه آب), a younger brother of Mehrâb.⁸

I will now give a few particulars about these disciples
of Azar Kaiwan. I will speak at first of—

- (1) The Zoroastrian disciples, and then of
- (2) The non-Zoroastrian disciples.

1. *A brief account of the Zoroastrian Disciples of Azar Kaiwan.*

He had descended from the family of Mahbud¹⁰
1. Farzaneh who was the Khân Sâlâr (خان سالار)¹¹
Kharrâd.⁹ of Noshirwan. He was killed through

¹ Bom. Ed. p. 45, l. 2. ² *Ibid.* l. 10. ³ *Ibid.* l. 10

⁴ *Ibid.* l. 21. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 46, l. 8. ⁶ *Ibid.* l. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 47, l. 13. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 43, l. 1. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 9.

¹⁰ The Bombay edition gives the name as Mehbul which seems
to be a mistake, because we know that Noshirwan had a courtier of
the name of Mahbûd.

¹¹ Khân sâlâr lit. means, the chief of the house. We know from
Firdousi that Mahbûd was the Dastur (دستور) of the King. He was
also his treasurer (ganjûr) (M. Mohl's small ed. Vol. VI, p. 232. Kutar
Brothers' Gujarati Ed. Vol. VIII, p. 264. Warner Brothers' ed. VII,
p. 319. Dastur Minochehr's ed. IV, p. 53. Macan's Calcutta Ed. IV,
p. 1679.)

the magic (jâdu) of a Jew and the machinations of the (royal) door-keeper (حاجب).¹ He first met Azar Kaiwan in a market of Shiraz. He had practised *riâzat* for several years. One of his miraculous exploits mentioned by Farzaneh Khushi (فرزانه خوشی) in his Bazam-gah² was this: Once Kharrad met Ardeshir, a descendant of Ardeshir Babegan,³ who (Ardeshir) was a disciple of Azar Kaiwan. Both attacked each other. Whenever Ardeshir aimed a blow with a sword, Karrad turned himself into a stone and the sword broke. He died in 1029 Hijri (i.e., 1620 A.C.).

Farshidward was a Parsi Delhkan (chief villager). He was descended from Farzaneh Shihdush, a disciple of the fifth Sassan. He also had met Azar Kaiwan in the above said place, i.e., in the *bazar* of Shiraz, and become his disciple. As related by Khushi, he also fought once with Bahman. Both attacked each other with weapons but they saved themselves by dexterous movements. They used muskets and guns (بندوق and تفنگ) against one another so dexterously, that the shot of one struck against the shot of another and both remained safe. He died in 1029 Hijri (i.e., 1619 A.C.).

Kheradmand had descended from Sam Nariman. He joined Zul 'Alûm⁴ (i.e., Azar Kaiwan), and performed *riâzât*. According to Khushi, when he once met Rustam who

1 The story, as given in the Shah-nameh, describes, how an evil eye of a Jew poisoned the milk of the King and how Mahbud's sons died by drinking the milk poisoned by evil eye.

2 Shea and Toyer give the name as Bazam Gâh-i-Durveshân.

3 The Bombay Edition gives this name itself as Ardeshir Behjar but that seems to be a mistake and the text which Shea and Troyer have followed seems to be correct.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34, l. 16.

5 *Ibid.* p. 35, l. 2.

6 Lit. Master of Learning.

had descended from Behramgore and who was one of the great disciples of Azar Kaiwan, he turned himself into a serpent and emitted flames to such an extent that a large (تنومند) *chinâr* (چنار¹ a plane tree) was burnt. Three months after Bahman's death, Kheradmand resumed his original condition.² The following miracles of these men are related. (a) They hid the sun (آفتاب پوشانید), i.e., stopped his light; (b) made the sun appear at night; (c) made the stars shine at day; (d) walked over water; (e) made trees give fruit out of season; (f) made dry trees green; (g) caused trees to bow down (سجود); (h) showed themselves like a lightning (برق); (i) took different forms of animals; (j) made themselves invisible to others; (k) assumed different forms. All these wonders are referred to in the Bazam-Gah-i-Darwish (درویش) of Khushi. The author (آورانامه) of the Dabistan says that he himself had seen at Patna, these four holy men (آزاده), viz., Kharrad, Farshidward, Bahman, and Kheradmand, who all blessed him.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, was descended from Goudarz Keshwad³. He joined
 4. Farzaneh Azar Kaiwan, not in Persia, but in
 Behram. Patna. He came from Shiraz. He was
 versed in Dialectics (منطقیات), the science of knowing one's nature (طبیعیات) and devotional austerities (ریاضت) and Theology (الهیات), as taught by books in Parsi, Pahlavi and Arabic languages. He had close relations (نسبت) with

1 Shea and Troyer give 'palm' (Vol. I, p. 107) which seems to be a mistake for 'plane.' 2 I.e., from his condition of being burnt to ashes. The name Bahman seems to be a mistake for that of Rustam.

3 Shea and Troyer give the name as Hashwâd, but this seems to be a mistake, because the Shâhnameh also gives the name of the father of Godarz as Keshwâd

Khajeh Jamal-ul-din Mahmud, a disciple of Mulla Jalal Dawani. He had written *Sharistan-i-Danesh* and *Gulistan-i-Binash*. He says of himself in his *Sharistan*, that it was with the help (ياوري) of Azar Kaiwan that he acquired knowledge of the angels, and the angelic world, etc. Mobad Hoshiyar tells us as having heard from Farzaneh Behram, that once Farzaneh Behram wished that Azar Kaiwan may tell him what the secrets of his (Farzaneh Behram's) heart were. Azar Kaiwan told all the secrets. He knew alchemy. He died in Hijri 1034, i.e., 1624 A.C., at Lahore.¹

Mobad Hoshiyar² wrote *Sarûd-i-Mastân* (سرود مسنان), i.e., The songs of the intoxicated. He was born at the *bunder* of Surat. He traced his descent from Tehmtan, i.e., Rustam, the son of Zal. He was very brave, courageous and experienced. He was wise and settled disputes (قطع خصومات). If an account of all his work was given, e.g., his conquest of the Heavens (*gardîn*) and his moving about (*gashtan*) above (على) at once or at the same time (یکه), his story would be as large as that of the *Shah Nameh*.³ He slept in a particular attitude known as *Murdeh Khwab* (مردہ خواب) or *Murdeh Khust* (مردہ خست) or *Sâv-nus* (ساونوس).⁴ He stopped his breathing for one

1 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 6. Shea and Troyer do not give the name of Lahore as the place of his death.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 36, l. 8. 3 Shea and Troyer translate this part as, "his victory at Girdun, his defeat of Ali Yakub". Shea then says in a foot-note "This passage is very obscure—the occurrences here mentioned must have been local." I think they are not right in taking some common names as proper names. What is meant is that he miraculously moved in all parts of the Heavens.

4 These are different postures or state of sleep said to be resorted to by ascetics.

watch (پارس), *i.e.*, 3 hours. He did not abstain from any kind of food, but avoided doing any injury to animals (آزار جاندار). He died in 1050 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1640 A.C., in the capital Akbarabad.

One other Mobad Hoshiyar,¹ a disciple of Azar Kaiwan, was one who explained (مترجم), *i.e.*, commented upon, Jashn-i-Sadeh (چشن سده).² He traced his descent from Jamasp Hakim. The author of the work (کردار گذار), *i.e.*, the Dabistan, met him in the heart-ravishing country of Kashmir (خطه دلیزیر کشمیر)³, in 1036 (*i.e.*, 1626 A.C.). He stood from midnight to dawn on the fingers of his hand (سرا انگوشان دست).

Mobad Sarush⁴ was the son of Kaiwan, son of Kām-gār. Kām-gār was so called for being known for much knowledge. He was descended on father's side from the prophet Shat Zardusht, and, on mother's side, from Jamasp Hakim. He knew Tāzi (Arabic), Persian and Hindi languages. He had travelled a good deal in prosperous (or populated) countries. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan and learnt Arbiyat (عربیّت)⁵ from Farzaneh Behram, the

1 Bom. Ed. p. 37, l. 1.

2 Originally Jashn-i-Sadeh, was one of the several festivals celebrated by the ancient Persians. It celebrated the event of the discovery of fire at the hands of Faridun.

3 Shea and Troyer's text (I, p. 113) gives the name as Kashnim. This seems to be a mistake. We know of no beautiful country of this name.

4 Bombay Ed. p. 37, l. 6.

5 Shea and Troyer translate the word as "Arabic language". I have doubts. It seems to mean simply "culture of the Arabs," because Arabic is spoken of above as Tāzi. The word 'Arabi' means "civilized Arabian" (Steingass, p. 842, col. 2).

son of Farhad. He was aged 60 and had never seen the company of any woman (روی آمیزش زن ندیده) and had never tasted animal food. He was the writer of *Nôsh Darû* and *Sagangbin*¹ and *Zardasht Afshar*.² *Mahmad Hasan* said that he had heard from him, 360 proofs of the confirmation of the Existence of God.³ Many miracles of his are related, *e.g.*, (a) bringing into existence what is non-existent (*aijâd, madûm*), (b) making non-existent what is existent, (c) revealing what is hidden, (d) concealing what is known, (e) the fulfilment of his prayer, (f) cutting long distances in a short time, (g) knowledge of hidden affairs, (h) appearing in different places at one and the same time, (i) reviving the dead and depriving the living of life, (j) understanding the language of animals and vegetables and minerals (*kâni*), (k) producing food and wine without any means or materials (*bî-sabab*), (l) to walk on water, (m) passing through fire and air and (n) such other miraculous things. The author (*râqem nameh* of *Dabistan*) says that he met him in Kashmir in 1036 Hijri (*i.e.*, 1627 A.C.). *Farrah Kari* (فره قاری), a servant of *Shîdûshi*, said, that once, he was hurt by the people of *Keshâwar* (کشاور) of *Achan* (اچن), a place near the *Idgah* (عبدگام) of Kashmir. He complained of this to *Yazdan Sitâi* (یزدان ستای),⁴ a disciple of *Sarosh*. *Yazdan Sitâi*, on learning this complaint, asked the complainant whether he wished that God may destroy their country by flood. On receiving a reply in the affirmative, he

1 *I.e.*, The Honey of Dogs. 2 Companion (Afshar) of Zardasht.

3 دلیل اثبات واجب Lit. Proofs confirming the existence of the one who is necessary. *Wajib-ul wujud* is the Self-existent.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as *Yazdan Silâi* which seems to be a mistake. There is no word like *Silâi* but we have *Sitâyi* meaning "one who praises".

caused rain to fall and destroyed their properties by flood. Sarosh, on hearing of this kind of revenge, rebuked his disciple and got rain ceased at once. When once Farrah Qâri was ill-treated by the people of a caravanserai (khan) at Bâlik (بالق), in the city of Torkhan (ترخان), he complained to Sarosh. Sarosh caused, at night, figures of extraordinary large men to appear in the air before the men and frightened them and forced them to desist from ill-treating others. Even Sarosh's disciple, Yazdan Sitâi, performed many miracles, one of which was that he turned heaps of broken pottery (سفال شکسته) into golden mohurs (اشرفي). He at times held a towel (مندیل)¹ in fire but it did not burn. Again, at times, he swallowed fire and played in the midst of fire.

Khuda Jui was another disciple of Azar Kaiwan. He
 8. Khuda Jui. was a native of Hirat (هرات) and he knew Persian and Arabic (Tâzi). He was the author of the Jâm-i-Kaikhusrû which is a commentary on the poems of Azar Kaiwan. He arrived in 1040 Hijri (1631 A.C.) in Kashmir, where the author (آورنامہ of Dabistan) met him. He died there in the same year. According to his own statement², he was asked in a dream to seek for a spiritual guide (رهبري). He was in search of one when he saw, in dream³, Azar Kaiwan, whom he found to his liking. He went to him with Farzaneh Khushi. He abstained from all animal food, whether it be of wild animals or of domesticated animals (حيوان جلالی و جمالی)⁴. He kept up his breath (ندم فرو بستی) for 4 watches (i.e., 12 hours), and exercised the practice of suppression of breath (*habs-i-nafsh*)⁵. He passed sleepless nights and ate

1 Bom. Ed. p. 38, l. 15.

2 Ibid. p. 39, l. 14.

3 Ibid. l. 4.

4 Ibid. l. 6.

5 Ibid. p. 39, l. 6.

6 Ibid.

only 50 dirams weight of food. He had gone from Herat to Istakhar to meet Azar Kaiwan.¹

Mobad Khushi was the author (خداوند) of Bazam Gah 9. Mobad Khushi. (بزم گاه)², wherein he refers by name to 12 disciples of Azar Kaiwan. According to his own version, as given by him in his Bazam Gah and narrated in the Dabistan, he was, from his very youth, in search of a spiritual guide (پیر) and he sought the advice of the pious personages (مشایخ) of Iran, Turan, Roum and Hind, whether Musulman, Hindu, Gabr, Christian (نصاری) or Jew. All said to him: "Mend your faith (کیش) and come to our way (راه)." But he was not inclined to give up his creed. He is named a Mobad; and he speaks of having gone for consultation, among others, to Gabrs, i.e., Zoroastrians, also, who also are said to have told him to quit his faith and to go to their path. This looks rather strange, but he seems to speak in general terms. Perhaps, by *kish* and *rah* is meant some particular beliefs of the speakers. He says, that during this perplexity of belief, his father Hush (هوش)³ advised him to pray to God for advice. Then a voice (*nadâ*) reached him, saying: "Oh man! leaving off the main river, you have turned towards rivulets or canals (انهار)." Then, when he turned towards the river, an angel (*Sarûsh*) said, that the great sea or river is Azar Kaiwan. He then joined Azar Kaiwan in the company of Khuda Jui.

Farzaneh Behram, son of Farshâd⁴, was called the younger (kuchak) Behram. The 10. Farzaneh Behram, the Younger. Arzang-i-mâni (ارزنگ مانی) was his work. He became a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,

1 *Ibid.* l. 4. 2 *Ibid* p. 39, l. 12. 3 *Ibid.* p. 40, l. 2.

4 Shea and Troyer give the name as Farhad. This is evidently wrong, because Farzaneh Behram of Farhad is already spoken of above.

and in the religious company (parastâri) of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, soon acquired perfection. The author (nâmeḥ gerd-âvar) of the Dabistan says, that, in 1048 Hijri (1638 A.C.), in the capital city of Lahore he found the young Behram, the son of Farshâd¹, in complete pleasure (سراسر سرور). But he died² in the same year. He knew Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and Firangi (i.e., Portuguese) languages. He had translated into Persian, known as Persian mixed with Arabic, the writings of Shaikh Ashrak Shahabuddin Maqtul, who was of the Istarrâq sect. He maintained himself as a scribe. The author (nâmeḥ-negâr) of the Dabistan says that, when one night in Hijri 1048 (1638 A.C.), he saw him, with Mobad Hushiyar, at Lahore, he saw him sitting on his knees facing the East, the whole night. He sat in this posture for 2 to 3 days even without bread and water. He lived on a small quantity of cow's milk, which even he took at the interval of 2 or 3 days.

Mobad Parastâr, son of Khurshid, took the form of elements (عنصري بیکر, i.e., was born) in
 11. Mobad Parastâr. Patnâ³. His father Khurshid was of Isphahan. In his very young days, he joined Azar Kaiwan and was much attached to Azar Kaiwan's disciple, Mobad Sarosh. He wrote the Tap-reh-i-Mobadi.⁴ In Hijri 1049 (A.C. 1640), the author

1 Here also the text, followed by the above author, erroneously gives the name as Farhad.

2 Bom. Ed. p. 40, l. 9.

3 Ibid. p. 40, l. 18.

4 I think that, here the word *tap* is Indian तप which is a kind of ritual of devotion. Being born in India, he seems to use an Indian word. So, the words would mean, "The Path of making Tap (or *riazât*) for Mobads."

(*nameh-negâr*) of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir. There, from night-fall to morning, Mobad Parastâr was engaged in Sarâyast (سرایست).¹ In the heavenly language (زبان آسمانی), *i.e.*, in the Desatir, Sarayast is called Faru shavad (فرو شود). In this practice, they hold up the feet in the air and stand on the head. It is called Kapâl âsan (کپال آسن)² in Hindi. He suddenly died in that position in the year of his visit to Kashmir (in 1640).

Peshkâr,³ son of Khorshid, was also born in Patna.

He was one year younger than Parastâr.

12. M o b a d Peshkâr. As both are mentioned as sons of

Khurshid, Parastâr and Peshkâr seem to be brothers. Both were born in Patna. Their father Khurshid, who was of Isphahan, seems to have come and settled in Patna. He seems to have come down from Isphahan on some business, and not in search of *riyâzat*. The very fact of his having two sons, Parastâr and Peshkâr, one after another at the interval of an year, shows, that he was not of that belief of the *riyazât*, which enjoined abstinence from the company of women. Peshkâr, became an expert in Hindi songs (*nagmah*) and verse (هندی نغمہ و اشعار). He was specially attached to Mobad Sarosh. He went with his brother to Kashmir, intending to go from there to Khatâ (خطا).⁴ He practised the holding up of breath (حبس نفس) to such an extent, that, according to Mobad Hushiyar, he once remained under

2 Sarayâst in Persian means a kettle-drum. So, Shea and Troyer translate the word as kettle-drum. Here, the word Sarâyâst seems to mean standing (*istadan*) on the head (*sar*).

2 The words are Indian कपाल आसन, *i.e.*, the posture (*âsan*) of resting on forehead (*kapâl*).

3 Bom. ed. p. 41, l. 3.

4 Khatâ was the name of Northern China. Cathay seem to be a later form of it.

water continually for two watches, *i.e.*, six hours. He seems to have carried out his above intention of going to Khatâ (Cathay, China), because, the author of the Dabistan does not say anything about his death, but simply wishes him safety wherever he be (هر کجا هست خدايا سلامت دارش)¹.

Shidush², son of Anôsh (انوش), was descended from prophet Zeroaster. His father Anôsh
 13. Shidûsh. was known as Farhush (فرهوش). He was one of the devoted relatives or allies (پیوندان) of Azar Kaiwan. One Zarbâdi³ (زربادی) also was descended from the divine prophet (vakhshûr) Zardusht. At first, he had no money or capital (مايه) except the distress of destitution (درد ناداری), but, afterwards, he became one of the possessors of property (دارنده گان). When both the brothers were in the early stage of destitution, they visited Azar Kaiwan for advice. Azar Kaiwan advised that they may, with a small capital (باندك سرمايه), go to the country of the rising sun, *i.e.*, to the East, and then return to the country of the setting sun, *i.e.*, the West. Thus advised, they went to the Eastern Countries for trade and amassed some money. In the mea time, Azarn Kaiwan died. After some time, Zarbâdi sent an old servant, named Farrah Qari (فروه قاری), to Patna, in order that he (Farrah Qari) may send his daughter to the female apartments of his brother Shidosh (*i.e.*, give his daughter in marriage to his brother). Then Shidosh and Farrah Qari again went out from Patna for trade (بازرگانی). They thought of going to Kashghar (کاشغر), *via* Kashmir.

1 *Ibid.* p. 1. 8.

2 *Ibid.* p. 41, l. 9.

3 Shea and Troyer give the name Zarbâdi. The Both. ed. gives the name here (p. 41, l. 10) as Razbâdi; but that is a mistake, as later on the name is given as Zarbâdi (*ibid.* l. 17).

So, they waited for some time in Kashmir. From the very time when Shidosh left Patna, there had begun in his mind mystic thoughts. He took to the religious practice of what is called *Āzād Āwād* (آزاد آواد) or *Āwād Āzād* (آواد آزاد) in Persian, *Sut Mutlaq* (صوت مطلق) in Arabic, and *Anāhad* (اناهد) in Hindi. One day, he said to the writer (نگارنده) of *Dabistan*, that the heavenly light was revealed to him. Though drowned in mystic thoughts, he appeared in worldly magnificence in the matter of his own and his retinue's dress. He said that, he owed his worldly wealth to Azar Kaiwan. So, it will not be proper to ignore it. He must use it in some good way. Shidosh was a selected¹ good youth. He seems to have been a mystic recluse in the midst of the world. He fell ill in Kashmir and in the midst of his great illness, he remained very cheerful. When he found, that his friends round about him were affected, he consoled them, saying, that he was going to a better world and raising his hands and turning his face toward the heavens which is the direction for turning to at the time of prayer (قبله دعا), he recited couplets from *Sahifeh al Awalia* (صحیفه الاولیا) of Imam Mahamad Nurbakhsh and closed his eyes. He died in 1040 Hijri (1629 A.C.).

We do not find his name in the list of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan, as given collectively in one place in the *Dabistan*. But he seems to be a follower of Azar Kaiwan's school. The author of the *Dabistan* met him in Kashmir in Hijri 1032 (1622-23 A.C.) when he was performing a *tap*.²

1 Shea and Troyer have taken the word *Behin* to be a part of Shidosh's proper name, as "Shidosh Behin" but that does not seem to be so. Behin means "selected, good".

2 *Vide* the preface (p. 7) of Mobad Dossabhai Munshi's *Khesh-tab*, etc.

All the above thirteen disciples were Zoroastrians. The above 13 Zoroastrian Disciples. Out of these thirteen, six (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12) who bear the appellation of Mobads were of the priestly class and the remaining seven were laymen. The epithet Farzaneh, i.e., wise or learned, which is applied to five of these seven, seems to show that, they, though they were not priests, were all learned to a great degree. The remaining two may be ordinarily learned. One of these two was evidently a merchant. It appears that, though it was expected from all members of the school that they should abstain from meat, there was one who did not abstain from meat. Then, there were a number of non-Zoroastrian disciples.

(2) *Non-Zoroastrian Disciples of Azar Kaiwan.*

The Dabistan says that there was a work known as Dāstān Adresah (داستان ادرسه)¹, which gave an account of some other learned Ābādians of the creed of Azar Kaiwan, and that, if he were to give an account of all those learned men, his work (Dabistan) would grow too large; so, he now proceeds with an account of those who were non-Yazdaniāns, i.e., non-Parsis, and who followed the rules (سلوك) of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. He names and gives a brief account of great ones (تنی چند سترگ). I will give here a brief account of them.

He was a fellow student (هم درس)² of Shah Fatah Ali. He was of the family stock of 1. Mahamad Ali of Shiraz. Azar Kaiwan (نادر کیوان در مولد خویشتن رسید). So, it seems, he was converted from Zoroastrianism. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad. One night, when he found that a

1 Bom. Ed. p. 43, ll. 18-19. Shea and Troyer give the name as Dadištān Aursah (Vol. I, p. 131). 2 Ibid. p. 43, l. 21.

thief was going away from his house in despair, he, who had pretended to be in deep sleep, stopped him and told him where his valuables were. The thief was put to shame and turned a new leaf.

He was a disciple¹ of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, and died in 1045 Hijri (1634 A.C.). Once, ^{2. Mahmud Sayad of Isphahan.} when he went to see Farzaneh, he was given an honoured seat, but a *darwish*, who followed, was given a lower spot in the place where shoes are placed (n'al-jâ). On being questioned, Farzaneh explained saying "external forms are not perfect" (sûri kamâl nist).

He was a pupil of Farzaneh² Behram of Farshad.³ He was illiterate. The ^{3. Ashur Beg Qarâmâlu.} author of the Dabistan met him in Kashmir in 1048 Hijri (1636 A.C.). Farzaneh Behram taught him proper positions for breathing. He never touched money.

Tamin⁴ is a sect (firqah) of Arang in Lahore. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, ^{4. Mahmud Beg Tamin} and became one of the Yakaneh-bins, i.e., those who looked to the Unity of God. He also was illiterate. One day, seeing a dog in pains, he purchased medicine for him, by selling his prayer-carpet and rosary, and cured him.

They were Jews and were the disciples of Farzaneh Behram of Farshâd. They were of the ^{5 and 6. Musa and Hârân.⁵} class of Rabbis (רבן). They were merchants, but they never told a lie in selling and buying. They said, that Farzaneh Behram

1 Bom. ed. p. 44, l. 5.

2 Ibid. l. 11.

3 Shea and Troyer mistakenly give the name as Farhâd.

4 Ibid. p. 45, l. 2.

5 Ibid. l. 10.

had an extraordinary characteristic and appearance, which captured, at once, those who saw him. For example, one Mulla Muhamad Sayyad of Samarkand, who went to scoff at him, was captured by him at Lahore. On the very first sight of Farzaneh Behram, he fell to his feet and bowed.

He was a Farangi (Portuguese) and a staunch believer of Christianity. He was rich, but he became a *qalandâr*, i.e., a mendicant, a *darwesh*.

7. Antun Bashu-
yeh Vavraj.¹

He was a learned Hindu Brahmin of Benares. He was a disciple of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. He drew one Ramchand, a Khatri (کھتری), one of the great men of the court of Shahan-i Sakal (شاهان سہکل), to his fold, and both joined together, and made many others, disciples of Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad. Sâh in Hindi means a proprietor, a rich man. Sakhal is a sect in India.

8. Ram Bhat.²

He was introduced to sun-worship (آفتاب پرستی) by the disciples of Kaiwan. We learn from an account of this man, that the disciples of Azar Kaiwan did not ask the initiated in their fold to abandon their faith.

9. Mir Abdul
Qâsam Fanda-
rasky.

He joined the disciples of Azar Kaiwan in Hijri 1047 (A.C. 1637).

10. Mehrâb.

He was a young brother of Mehrâb. He was seen by the author of the Dabistan in work with Farzaneh Behram, the son of Farhad.

11. Mâbâh.

At the end of the section treating of the disciples, the author of the Dabistan says, that, though the later kings

1 Ibid. p. 45, l. 21.

2 Ibid. p. 46, l. 8.

of Persia adopted the faith of Zardusht, they did not give up their old Abadian faith, which they called Farhang Kish (فرهنگ کیش).

According to the Dabistan, Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were descended from noble ancestors of the ancient dynasties of Persia. I give below a list giving the names of these ancestors as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Ancestors.</i>
Azar Kaiwan	... The first Sassan. ¹
Farzaneh Kharrad	... From Mahbud of the Court of Noshirwan.
Farzaneh Farshidward	... From Farzaneh Sedush, one of the disciples of the 5th Sassan.
Farzaneh Kheradmand	... From Sam Nariman.
Farzaneh Behram	... From Godarz Keshwad.
Mobad Hushyâr	... From Rustam-i-Zal.
Second Mobad Hushyâr	... From Jâmâsp Hakim.
Mobad Sarush	... From Zardasht on father's side, and from Jamasp on mother's side.
Khuda Jui. (His ancestry is not mentioned).	
Shidush	... Descended from Prophet Zardusht.
Zarbad, brother of Shidush	... From Zardusht.

1 Bom. ed. p. 29.

Azar Kaiwan and his disciples were from different parts of Persia. Some were from India. I give here, a list of their countries as ascertained from the Dabistan :—

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Places.</i>
Azar Kaiwan	... Istakhar.
Farzaneh Kharrad	... Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz.
Farzaneh Farshidward	... Met Azar Kaiwan in Shiraz.
Farzaneh Kheradmand	... ¹
Farzaneh Behram	... He was from Shiraz and first met Azar Kaiwan at Patna.
Mobad Hushyâr	... Surat.
Second Mobad Hushyâr	... ¹
Mobad Sarush	... ¹
Khuda Jui	... Herat.
Mobad Parastâr, son of Khorshid.	He was born at Patna in India. His father was of Isphahan.
Mobad Peshkâr, brother of Parastâr.	He also was born at Patna.
Mobad Shidush	... ¹

I give below, a list, giving the dates of the deaths of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples. We see from it, that they all flourished in the time of Akbar (died 1605) and his son Jehangir (1605-28). Two lived upto the reign of Shah Jehan (1628-1707) :—

The dates of the deaths of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

¹ His place is not mentioned.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>
Azar Kaiwan ...	... 1614
Farzaneh Kharrad ...	... 1620
Farzaneh Farshidward ...	... 1619
Farzaneh Kheradmand ...	... Date not known.
Farzaneh Behram ...	... 1624 (at Lahore).
Mobad Hushyâr of Surat of the family of Tehmtan Rustam ...	... 1640, at Akabarabad.
Second Mobad Hushyâr of the family of Jâmasp ...	... Not known.
Mobad Sarush ...	... Some time after 1627, aged 60.
Khuda Jui ...	... 1631, died at Kash- mir.
Farzaneh Behram, the younger ...	... 1638, died at Lahore.
Mobad Parastâr ...	... 1640, in Kashmir.
Shidush ...	... 1629, in Kashmir.

The author of the *Dabistan* says, that he met some of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan personally. He met Kharrad, Farshidvard, Bahman and Kheradmand, at Patna. He met the second Mobad Hushyâr in Kashmir in 1626 A.D. He met Sarush also in Kashmir in 1627. He first met Khuda Jui in Kashmir in 1831. It seems that, possibly, he met also Shirdush, son of Anush in Kashmir.

Works written by
the different pupils
of Azar Kaiwan and
by Azar Kaiwan
himself.

We find the names of the following
books, as written by the different
followers of Azar Kaiwan :—

1. *Jashan-i-Sadeh* by Mobad Hushyâr (Bombay
ed. p. 24, l. 5. Shea and Troyer's Translation I, p. 72).

2. Sarud-i-Mastan by Mobad Hushyar (*Ibid.* l. 6, *Ibid.*)

3. A commentary on Jam-i-Kaikhusrô by Mobad Khuda Jui (*Ibid.* p. 25, l. 18. Shea and Troyer, p. 76). This book is said to be a commentary (شرح) on the text of the poem of venerable Azar Kaiwan (متن منظومه شاد کيوان).

4. Zardusht Afshar by Mobad Sarush (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 7, Shea, p. 77). That the original, of which it is a commentary, was written by Azar Kaiwan himself (*Ibid.* p. 26, l. 9, Shea, p. 84) appears from what is said in the Dabistan, where, while speaking of this work, it is said that it was written by him (Bom. ed. p. 31, l. 14). (آذر کيوان در جام کيخسرو آزرده).

5. Kheshtab. It appears, not from the Dabistan but from the book (Kheshtab) itself, that this book was written by Mobad Hosh at the desire of Kaikhusrû Asfandiyar, the successor of Azar Kaiwan¹. Mobad Hosh calls himself Khaneh Zâd (one brought up by the family) of Azar Kaiwan. The book was originally written by one Kheshtab, a disciple of Sassan-i-Panjum, in the reign of Khusru Purviz. Its original name was Garzan-i-Danesh, i.e., the Crown of Wisdom. Mobad Hosh was desired to render it into the Persian of his times². The author says that the name Kheshtab comes from Khesh-tâb (self-burning) which was the name of a fire-temple, the sacred fire of which was self-burning (خود سوز). So, Kheshtab is another form of Khud Suz. The book consists of 47 dalil (دلیل), i.e., arguments to

¹ I write this on the authority of the translation—not the original—by Mobad Dosabhai S. Munshi (*Vide* his Gujarati book ખેશતાબ—કરેશત અક્ષર તથા અ-દેશીદ (1848).

² *Ibid.* p. 2.

prove the Existence of God. The very first proof is that which modern theologians speak of, as the Argument from Design. The translator illustrates its contents, by saying that it is something like the *kol* (word) of European savants, who say : “ Carefully study Nature, and look, through Nature, up to nature’s God”.¹

6. Zindeh Rud², i.e., “ the living river. The author of the book is Mobad Khushi. He also was asked by Kaikhusru Asfandiyar, the immediate successor of Azar Kaiwan³, to write the book. It was originally written in the time of Khusru Purviz in the then Persian language by a sage, named Zindeh Azarm (زندہ آزرم),⁴ i.e., living greatness. The book is divided into 58 *quals* (قول) or words.

VII

A FEW TENETS OF BELIEF, OBSERVANCES, ETC., OF AZAR KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES.

I will give here a few principal tenets of belief, observances, and practices of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples.

1. They believed that they were in communion with God and received instructions in visions (در خواب) from old philosophers of India, Greece and Persia.⁵

1 *Ibid.* p. 5.

2 Zindeh Rud is the name of a river at Ispahan which gives beauty to Ispahan. Of the several places in Persia, which I liked much in my travels in 1925, this was one. (*Vide* my મુખ્ય બાહ્યારની સેહેવ.)

3 The translator in both cases—in that of this book and that of the preceding *Khishtab*—speaks by mistake of Kaikhusru as being a son of Azar Kaiwan.

4 My rendering is from the names in the Gujarati book.

5 Bom. Ed. p. 30, l. 7. Shea, I, p. 89.

2. They avoided contact with ordinary people, and gave audiences mostly to their disciples.¹ They said that the masses are not to be depended upon, عوام گرفتار زمان و مکانند برخلاف تحقیق, i.e., Common people are slaves to time and place, as opposed to truth.
3. They advised people to stick to their own religions. One need not give up his religion to follow their views.²
4. They kept their tenets secret even from relatives.³

As to the practices and observances, observed by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, many of them may be termed extraordinary or the miraculous. I will enumerate some of these. We see some of these, and hear of some of these, as being practised, even now, here and there, by some persons. Some of them can be explained in one way or the other. But there are others that cannot be explained.

1. They formed themselves into inanimate forms. If one struck them with a sword they changed themselves into a stone which broke the sword.⁴
2. They divested themselves of physical bodies when they liked and returned to the bodies when they liked.⁵
3. They read the secret thoughts of others.⁶
4. They resorted to different modes of sleeping. One of these, was known as *Murdah khasp* or *Murdah khab* or *Sîônôs*.⁷ In this process

1. Bom. Ed. p. 31, l. 10. Shea and Troyer, I, p. 93.

2. *Ibid.* Bom. Ed. p. 32, l. 17. 3. *Ibid.* p. 32, l. 14.

4. Shea and Troyer's Dabistan, Vol. I, p. 105.

5. *Ibid.* p. 108. 6. *Ibid.* p. 109. 7. *Ibid.* p. 111.

they do not sleep lengthwise but rest on knees and with head resting on fingers. They stopped breathing in this posture. Another process was that of supporting one's self on fingers, the rest of the body not touching the ground.¹

5. They passed their whole nights in prayers without sleep.²
6. They limited their food to a very small quantity. At times they ate 50 *dirams*.³ Some ate only 10 *dirams*.⁴
7. Some of them never looked on women.⁵
8. They created, what was previously not in existence.
9. They knew the secrets of others.⁶
10. They hid things from the sight of others, though otherwise the things were visible.⁷
11. They travelled long distances in unusually short times.⁸
12. They appeared at one and the same time in distant places.⁹
13. They brought the dead to life.¹⁰
14. They deprived the life of the living by marvellous powers.¹¹

1 *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 113. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* p. 118. 4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* p. 113. This reminds us of the practices of the inmates of some of the Christian monasteries of the West. There, the monks refused to see even their mother on death-bed. They did not even admit within their precincts, female animals. *Vide* my paper on the "Monastic Institution of Burma" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. of 1922. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 130-48).

6 *Ibid.* p. 114.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

15. They understood the languages of (a) animals, (b) vegetables and (c) minerals.¹
16. They produced food and wines without any visible means.²
17. They walked over water and in fire and air.³
18. To punish the evil-minded, they produced floods in their fields and destroyed their houses.⁴
For a similar purpose, with a view to frighten the wicked, they produced extraordinary huge figures in the air.⁵
19. They changed worthless things, like broken pottery, into golden money.⁶
20. They created miraculously extraordinary houses, in entering which people saw the Sun there.⁷
21. They turned themselves into animals like crocodiles and carried away people from river banks.⁸
22. They threw clothes into fire where they did not burn.⁹
23. They repeated some words and thereby made themselves invisible to others.¹⁰
24. They appeared at times hovering in the air.¹¹
25. They produced various appearances like those of peacocks by putting burning taper in water.¹²
26. They disported themselves in blazing fires.¹³
27. They swallowed fire.¹⁴

1. <i>Ibid.</i> I, p. 114	2. <i>Ibid.</i>	3. <i>Ibid.</i>	4. <i>Ibid.</i> p. 115.
5. <i>Ibid.</i> p. 116.	6. <i>Ibid.</i>		7. <i>Ibid.</i> p. 117.
8. <i>Ibid.</i> p. 117.	9. <i>Ibid.</i>	10. <i>Ibid.</i>	11. <i>Ibid.</i>
12. <i>Ibid.</i>	13. <i>Ibid.</i>	14. <i>Ibid.</i>	

28. They made houses appear as full of serpents and scorpions.¹
29. They laid particular things on the breasts of others, whereby the latter were made to answer whatever they were asked.²
30. They lighted a match (فتيله)³ in an hospitable assembly whereon there appeared Lulies (لوليان)⁴ who danced naked.
31. They suppressed their breath for hours together, at times for 12 hours at a stretch.⁵ This practice was known as Habs-i-dam (حبس دم).⁶
32. They plunged themselves into water and remained underneath it for two watches (pās), i.e., 6 hours.
33. In the case of some disciples, some acts are described, which persons of their line of thought may speak of as acts of unusual kindness towards others. For example, a Mahomedan disciple (No. 14) saw, one night, a thief in his house. In order to let him do his work to his satisfaction, he pretended to have been in deep sleep, but, when he saw, that the thief felt disappointed, because all things were put in a secure place which the thief could not trace, he got up and pointed out to him the place where some valuables were put. This unusual kindness put the thief to shame and he left the house without taking anything.
34. They practised long breathing in particular positions of the body. While doing so, they

1 *Ibid.* I, p. 117. 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Ibid.* I, pp. 117-18. Bom. Ed. p. 38, last line. 4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.* n. 118. 6 *Ibid.*

concentrated their mind upon God and on pious thoughts and personages.¹

35. Some of them never touched money in gold or silver or copper.
36. They passed two or three days at a stretch without food.
37. Some of them showed unusual kindness towards animals. A Mahomedan disciple of Farzaneh Behram, son of Farhad, sold off his only property, a prayer-carpet and rosary, to procure medicine for a suffering dog.²
38. Some of them lived naked, day and night, summer and winter.³
39. Some of them, if injured by any person, never complained and remained quiet. One of such said, on an occasion of assault over him : "I am not distressed for my own bodily sufferings, but that person's hands and fists must have suffered so much."⁴
40. They abstained from animal food, and even never killed or injured animals.

1 *Ibid.* p. 134. The modern school or sect of the Mazdasnans, which, having been once started in America, has spread in Europe, has the practice of long and slow breathing as one of their principal tenets. They also abstain from wine and flesh.

2 *Ibid.* p. 135.

3 *Ibid.* I, p. 138. I remember seeing at Nasik, at the time of the last twelve years' *jatra* of the river Godavari at Nasik, a number of Sâdhûs on a hill, quite naked (*Vide* my paper "A Visit to Nasik on the opening days of the present Sinhasht pilgrimage", *Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 493-527. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 149-83).

4 *Ibid.* Shea and Troyer, p. 138.

VIII

THE BASIC BELIEF OF AZAR KAIWAN AND
HIS DISCIPLES. THEIR SUFISM.

Persia was the country of Sufism and Mysticism. Azar Kaiwan and his school seem to be influenced partly by the prevalent Sufism, but they were influenced more by mysticism.

Sufism is spoken of by some as Mahomedan Theosophy. The Shiah sect of the Mahomedans do not much believe in it. One may see a trace of pantheism, in it. It is thought to be a kind of neo-Platonism. A kind of union with God, is the principle tenet of its belief. The Sufis use much of symbolism and they explain some ordinary expressions as symbolic and expressive of some mystic meaning. For example, they thus explain some ordinary expressions as follows: (a) When Sufistic poets like Hafiz speak of Love, it is divine love. (b) Embracing and kissing in their writings are raptures of Divine love. (c) Sleep is contemplation. (d) Wine is Divine knowledge. An ale-house, which Hafiz speaks of as being in charge of an old Mobad (Pîr-i Moghan), is a place for drinking Divine knowledge. The drunken in this ale-house are people drunk with Divine knowledge. The drunkenness there is the cheerfulness of religious thoughts. (e) Beauty is God's glory and so on.

Though Sufism has elements derived from the learning and thoughts of various countries, Persia is said to be its cradle.¹ A recent writer says, "Persia,

1 At times, the whole class of Sufis, and, at times, a certain sect of them is spoken of as Mystics

a country peopled by Shiah Mahomedans, situated between Turkey and Afghanistan, which are peopled by Sunnis, their sworn antagonists, has exercised a profound influence. In Persia, the conception of God as an austere despot, whose chief attribute is merciless power which is the conception of Orthodox Islam, never took deep root. On the other hand, Mahomedan mysticism, which sprang partly from the influence of Christian monks and anchorites in Arabia and partly from the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, found in Persia, the home of Manes and the early Gnostics, a congenial soil."¹

There are various classes of mystics, *e.g.*, *galandars*² and *mulâmati*³. But a member of the strict Sufi sect is superior to these, because the above two, though they have renounced the world, acknowledge a superior, but the Sufi acknowledges no spiritual head. Azar Kaiwan's class acknowledged spiritual heads. As to Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, their views were somewhat Sufistic with a mixture of some Indian practices of Yoga. As said above, though Sufism has taken its element from the learning of various countries, Persia is said to be the cradle or its early home. So, the question is: Was there anything like Sufism among the ancient Mazdayasnan Persians? According to the Dabistan, it was there. The belief of the school of Azar Kaiwan was a kind of mysticism based on Sufistic ideas prevalent in Persia,

1 "With the Afghans," by C. Field, Chap. XII, p. 183.

2 قلندر, "a kind of itinerating Muhammadan monk, with shaven head and beard, who abandons everything, wife, friends, possessions, and wanders in the world." (Steingass.)

3 ملائي "a kind of Muhammadan monk who conceals his devotions, makes no parade of anything good, and hides nothing bad." (Steingass.)

in his time and intermixed with the thoughts of Indian mystics of the class of Sadhus and Sanyasis. So I will say here a few words (a) on Sufism and (b) examine the question: Whether there was anything like Sufism in the ancient Mazdayasnan Persia? and, if so, to what extent? At first, let us see what Sufism is.

The word Sufism has been variously derived, but the generally accepted derivation is from (a) What is Sufism. *suf* (صوف) wool, because the Sufis generally put on woolen garments.¹ The principal or basic idea on which Sufism rests, or round which it turns, is that of Divine Love, or Union or Communion with God.² All men in their prayers, whether formal prayers or extempore prayers, or in prayerful thoughts, carry their thoughts to God. Expressing their dependence upon God, they implore Him for the fulfilment of their wishes, for their happiness. They pour forth all their devotion in this direction and put themselves into a kind of communion with God. They, as it were, talk with their God. The literate as well as the illiterate, in their high sounded or simple language give an expression to their thoughts. They

1 Some derive it from *suf* (i.e., rank). They say, that the Sufis are those who are men of (first) rank, as they are always engaged in communion with God. (b) Others derive it from *suffâ* (صفا) "large smooth stones." The Sufis are said to be "the people of the bench" (أهل الصفا). The Sufis had no home of their own; so they rested at night on the stone benches outside the mosque. (c) Others derive it from *safâ* (صفا) purity, because the Sufis are pure in character. (d) Others connect the word with Gr. *Sophos*, wisdom, as the Sufis are all expected to be wise. (Vide Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, article by Prof. Nicholson).

2 A lady Sufist, Rabia, of the 1st century A. C., is said to be the first person founding mysticism with this idea of Divine Love and Union with God.

pour forth their expression of dependence upon God, and, in turn, pray for His love, for His kindness, what we call Divine Love is love of that kind. It is man's love for God and God's love for man. As said by a recent writer on Sufism, this "religious emotion common to all mankind, is, so to speak, raised to its highest power in the mystics. They are overwhelmed by the sense of the Divine omnipresence and of their own dependence on God. They are dominated and intoxicated by their vivid sense of the closer relation subsisting between the soul and God. They conceive themselves as being in touch with God, feeling His motions in their souls, and at times rising to the beatific vision and blinded by excess of light. These religious experiences were the rough material out of which the doctrinal reasoned system, set out in treatises like the *Lawā'ih* was built up. Psychologists have advanced various theories as to the genesis of these experiences.... The source of Sūfī theology was Neo-Platonism."¹

Platonism, as taught by Plato (B.C. 429-347), who is said to have travelled a good deal, and to have gone even to Persia, was following the teachings of Socrates whose pupil Plato was. This Platonism was imbued with the idea that Wisdom was the attribute of the Godhead. If we may take some liberty of using Iranian phraseology we may say that he believed in *Mino-i-Kherad* (دین و آگاهی), i.e., the Divine Spirit of Wisdom. To know this, is the intellectual necessity of Man. It is a great blessing. Persevere after Wisdom as you would pursue one whom you love. Such a perseverance and pursuit would purify your soul. That will lead you from Dark-

1. "*Lawā'ih*", a Treatise on Sūfism by Nūr-ud-dīn Abd-ur Rahman Jāmī with a Translation by E. H. Whinfield and Mirāz Muḥammad Kazvīnī (1914), Preface p. Vif.

ness to Light. You will be illuminated. Such a perseverance, such an illumination, require communion with God, or, in the words of Parsi Scriptures, a kind of relationship with God (خویشی یزدان *khōshī yezdān*). They are the result of such a communion. This impulse of the soul to be in communion with God leads one to the high ideal of being like God. Unless you are not something, however little, like God, you will not have that communion. Those of the Persian Sufis who took up the above idea of being illuminated by perseverance and pursuit of Wisdom were known as the Ishrāqiāns (اشرافین), i.e., the Illuminati. The word comes from *sharq* (شرق) the rising of the sun in the East (*mashraq* مشرق). They were called Ishrāqiāns or Illuminati, because they looked for intellectual light or illumination or intuition and had got some of it. According to the Dabistan, Izad (ایزد), the God of the Parsis, is the same as the Allah of the Arabs, the Para Brahma Narayana (परब्रह्म नारायण) of the Hindus.¹

Neo-Platonism is looked to, more than Platonism itself, as a source that influenced Persian New Platonism. Sufism. After Plato and Aristotle, the oriental and occidental civilization of Greece and Persia began to be united, as it were, in a new civilization with a new philosophy, which, latterly, came to be known as Neo-Platonism, which is much associated with the name of Philo Judæus, and of which the foremost teacher was Plotinus (205-270 B.C.). It contained elements of pantheism and aimed at eclecticism. It tried to reconcile the old philosophy of Plato with the philosophy of the East

1 Bom. Ed. p. 28, l. 1. It writes the Indian name as یار برهم نرنجن. The last part, Naranjan, is a mistake for Narayan (ناراین). Shea and Troyer's text gives the name correctly.

including that of Persia. Its tendency was towards mysticism and towards theurgy. This theurgy is said to have begun with Egyptian Platonists who took it as a science or a theory of knowledge conveyed by God to exceptional men who practised certain acts, observed certain observances, and, thereby, acquired powers of knowing the future and supernatural secrets.

Prof. A. Harnack thus sums up the aim of Neo-Platonism: "Neo-platonism claimed to be not merely the absolute philosophy, the keystone of all previous systems, but also the absolute religion, reinvigorating and transforming all previous religions. It contemplated a restoration of all the religions of antiquity, by allowing each to retain its traditional forms, and at the same time making each a vehicle for the religious attitude and the religious truth embraced in Neo-platonism; while every form of ritual was to become a stepping stone to a high morality worthy of mankind. In short, Neo-platonism seizes on the aspiration of the human soul after a higher life, and treats this psychological fact as the key to the interpretation, of the universe. Hence the existing religions, after being refined and spritualized, were made the basis of philosophy."¹

The Ishrâqians
of Persia were
Platonists.

The Dabistan says:

از عارف بحق سبحانی نامه نگار شنید که در غقای صوفیه
همانست که اشراقیان راست اما صوفیه اکنون عقاید خود بر رمز
و اشارت در آمیخته اند تا ناهل در نیابد بر سنت انبیا و اولیا
و قدمای حکما

Translation:—The author (*nameh nagâr*) has heard from Shabjâni, the knower of the truth, that, in the

1 Encycl. Brit. 9th ed., Vol. XVII, p. 333, col. 2.

tenets of the Sufis, there is the same thing, which is with the Ishraqis. But the Sufis have now mixed up their beliefs with enigmas (*ramz*) and mysterious allusions. So that, incapable persons (*nâ-ahl*) do not find their door, (*i.e.*, way) to the instructions (*sunnat*) of the prophets and saints and ancient sages.

The Ishraqis are, according to the writer of the Dabistan, followers of the teachings of Plato. He says this in the section, wherein he speaks of the sect of the Akhbarins (اخبارین),¹ (*i.e.*, the followers of historical information, *akhbār*) founded by Mulla Mahamad Amin of Astrabad. This sect was divided into several sub-sects. One of these was that of Matakalamins (متکلمین, *i.e.*, the speakers, the declaimers).² Another sect was Hokmā-i-Mashayin (حکما مشایین, *i.e.*, philosophers who follow or who are escorted). They were so called because they followed the stirrup of Arstu (ارسطو Aristotle).³ The Dabistan says that "When Arstu (Aristotle) was the *Vazir* of Alexander and when he went to and fro (*taraddud*) to the palace (*daulat-khaneh*) of Alexander, then they acquired knowledge from him while walking with him (وقتی که ارسطو وزیر اسکندر شده بود و تردد بدولت خانه اسکندر میکرد در آن اثنا اخذ علوم از ارسطو میکردند)."⁴

Their another sect was that of the Hukmā-i-Ishrayin (اشرائین). They were given training in the line of *riyāzat* by Aflatun (Plato) the teacher of Aristotle (افلاطون که استاد ارسطو است تعلم و تعلیم بطریق ریاضات کرده است).⁵

Now, it is this Platonism and Neo-Platonism that are said to have influenced to a great extent Persian Sufism. Mr. Whinfield, in his above referred to book⁶, thus

1 Bom. Ed. p. 229, l. 18, Shea, Vol. II, p. 372. 2 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 2. Shea and Troyer speak of them as the Scholastics. *Ibid.* p. 276. 3 Bom. Ed. p. 280, l. 4; 4 *Ibid.* p. 230, l. 5. 5 *Ibid.* l. 7. 6 Lawa'ih op. cit. Preface p. VII.

refers to the question of the influence. "The title of the book, *Lawa'ih* or 'Flashes of Light', suggests the philosophy employed to systematize and give a reasoned basis for the unreasoned 'experiences' of unlearned Sufis. It of course refers to the 'inner light'. The Platonists were called *Ishraqin* or *Illuminati* because they regarded intellectual intuition or intuitive reason (*Nous*) as the main source of knowledge, whereas the Peripatetics (*Mashshā'in*) recognized no sources of knowledge except the senses and the discursive reason (*Dianoia*). The word *Ishraq* or *Lights* is often met with in this connection.....Haji Khalfa, in his article on Sufism (*Tasawwuf*), says, that any one who reads Sufi books cannot fail to remark that their terminology is borrowed from the Platonists (*Ishraqin*) and more especially from the later ones, i.e., the Neo-Platonists.It was probably at about the end of the fifth century A.H. that Neo-Platonic *gnosis* began to influence and modify Sufi doctrine..... We have (Imam) Ghazālī's own account of the way in which he was attracted to Sufism, and other passages in his writings prove that he used the forms of Greek thought to explain Sufi principles. If it be asked how Greek philosophy reached Ghazālī, who was a native of Khurāsān, the answer is easy. When Justinian closed the schools at Athens, Damascius and his Neo-Platonist brethren fled to the court of Nushirvān. They only remained there about a year and left in 533 A.D. but Nushirvān had some translations of Neo-Platonist books made at that time, and these were followed by many others, made two centuries and a half later, under the Abbasides at Baghdād. Greek philosophy was expounded by the so called Arabian, but really Persian, philosophers.....Neo-Platonism, mainly in the form expounded by Plotinus, was used by all the more learned Sufis to explain and justify the simple emotional

sayings of the early Sufis. Henceforward Neo-Platonism pervades all systematic treatises on Sufism.....Even the poets use Greek terminology.....The central doctrine of Islam 'There is no God but Allah' was restated in the form 'There is no real Being and no real Agent (*Fa'il-i-haqiqi*) but the One, the 'Truth' (*Al Haqq*). Allah was not entirely stripped of personal attributes, such as will and consciousness, but He has ceased to be conceived as a purely supramundane Deity, enthroned above the empyrean heaven, creating the world by one fiat, ruling His subjects like some mighty monarch, by commands and prohibitions, and paying them wages according to their deserts. He has become a Being immanent and 'deeply interfused' in the universe, and giving it all the real existence it has. The Koran speaks of Allah as omniscient, but omniscience was now expanded into 'omni-essence' if one may use such a word. It was the Platonian doctrine of the 'One' and its Emanations which furnished the Sufi theologians with the material for the wider conception of 'The Truth,' the ultimate divine ground of all things, the 'Substance' as Spinoza called it...The Sufi theologians adopted the Neo-Platonist view that the ritual law is not binding upon spiritual men." (Preface, pp. VII-XII.)

I have quoted Mr. Whinfield, at some length, as he sums up, in brief, the question of the influence of Platonism and Neo-Platonism. We gather the following facts:

1. The religious emotion which is seen in Sufism is common to all mankind, but it is "raised to its highest power in the mystics," who are, as it were, intoxicated with the wine of "their vivid sense of the close relation subsisting between the soul and God."

2. Persian Sufis were influenced by the early Platonism and latter Neo-Platonism. The Persian Sufis especially known as Ishraqin were Platonists.
3. The Neo-Platonic philosophy of the Greeks first entered Persia in the time of the Sassanian King Noshirwan, who had welcomed in his court the Neo-Platonist philosophers of Athens who were driven away from their city by Justinian. Noshirwan got their books translated into Pahlavi. From the Pahlavi, they were translated, after the Arab conquest of Persia, into Arabic. It is those Arabic translations that Sufi writers like Ghazali and Avicena (Abu Saena)¹, Sharastani and others followed.

As said by Prof. Nicholson, "the Neo-Platonists, with their doctrine of emanation, were theists, although 'the One' of Plotinus is not a personal God; and a similar position is reached in some types of mysticism which are not so much religious as philosophical".²

We have the authority of Maqoudi to say that Platonism in Persia, long before the advance of Neo-Platonism in the time of Noshirwan. Dastur Tansar or Taosar, the Head Priest and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, is said to have been a Platonist.

¹ I had the pleasure of seeing the tomb of this philosopher at Hamadan in 1925, when I noted, that there, he was known more as a physician than a philosopher.

² "The idea of Personality in Sufism", by Reynold A. Nicholson (1923), p. 52.

It is possible, that some mystic thoughts of the school of Plato, who is said to have travelled in Persia, may have entered into Persia from olden times, the times of the early Sassanians. Maçoudi, speaking on the view as the "Transmigration of souls" (تنقل الأرواح), says that Plato and his disciples believed in transmigration of souls. He adds that Plato believed that the soul was independent of body and passed from one body to another (من جسد إلى جسد)¹. According to this same author, Ardeshir Babegan's Dastur or head priest belonged to the sect of Platonists. He says: Ardeshir had with him a holy of holy persons (زاهد من زاهدين) named Bishar² (يشير) who belonged to the Platonic religion (إفلاطوني المذهب)³ or sect which sect he associates also with Socrates (سقراط). As pointed out by Prof. Darmesteter, this name Bishar is another form of the above Tansar or Taosar, who was the head priest of Ardeshir Babegan⁴. With a change of *nukhtahs* (dots) over, and above, some of the letters of the word, the name Tansar or Taosar can be read as Bishar.

Thus, we see, that it is pointed out that, since Ardeshir Babegan's time, the mystic side of Platonism had begun to be known, to some extent, in Persia. So, the theory of the soul being independent of the body, and of its transference from one body to another,

1 Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard, Vol. IV, p. 66, l. 5, Chap. LXVII. 2 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 161, ll. 7-8, Chap. XXIV. 3 *Ibid.*

4 For this Dastur's influence in the court of Ardeshir Babegan, vide Darmesteter's article in *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, Tome III (Mars-Avril 1894), pp. 185-250, (Mai-Juin 1894), pp. 502-555.

not commonly believed, had come to be known in Persia.

The learned among the ancient Greeks, knew the ancient Persians pretty well. They had learnt much from the ancient Persians. So, it is possible that, in turn, they may have given something to Persia. John Fredrick Kleuker, who translated Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta into German,¹ has discussed the question of the knowledge of Zoroastrianism in Greece. Anthony Troyer thus sums up what Kleuker says on this subject: "It was in the sixth century B.C. that the Persian religion and philosophy became known in Europe by Hostanes, the Archimagus who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. In the fourth century B.C., Plato, Aristotle and Theopompus show a knowledge of Zoroaster's works. In the third century B.C., Hermippus treats expressly of them, as containing no less than 120,000 distichs. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, works attributed to Zoroaster are mentioned under different names by Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Pausanius, Pliny and Dion Chrysostomus². St. Clement of Alexandria, in the third century, was not unacquainted with, them. Later, the Gnostics made a great use of the oriental cosmogony and psychology, as derived from Zoroaster. The testimony of Eusebius establishes that, in the fourth

1 It consists of five volumes, three of which contain the translation and two, forming an appendix, contain his own views and deductions.

2 For the passages from some of these writers, *vide* Prof. Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran". For the translation of these and other passages from classical writers, *vide* the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 14, where they are translated by Dr. W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton.

century, there existed a collection of sacred works respecting the theology and religion of the Persians. It was mostly the liturgical part of them that was spread about, mixed with notions relative to the magical art. The Empress Eudokia of the fifth, and Suidas of the twelfth, century, attribute to Zoroaster several books, four of which treat of nature, one of precious stones, and five of astrology and prognostics. So much and more can be gathered from Greek and Latin works about the writings of the Persian legislator.”¹

In the account of Zoroaster, as given by the Dabistan, there is a reference to the Prophet's presence before God. God tells Zoroaster, that he is the author of all that is good and not of the evil. Troyer quoting Plato from his *De Republica* says, that the above sentiment agrees with that of Plato, who says: “The author of good is God alone; but the author of evil anything else rather than God.”² As said above, the Dabistan takes the people of the Ishraqian sect to be the “Platonists of Persia.”³

Anthony Troyer compares Arda Viraf's resuscitation after his vision of Heaven and Hell to Plato's account (*Republica*, t. X) “of Hero, the son of Armenius, a Pamphilian by origin; viz., when this man had been killed in battle, and when, on the tenth day, the dead bodies were in a state of decomposition, he alone was preserved and carried home to be burned, and on the twelfth day, being placed upon the funeral pyre, he gave signs of life, and, resuscitated, he related what he had seen in the other world.”⁴

1 Note by Anthony Troyer in Shea and Troyer's Translation of the Dabistan, Vol. I, pp. 223-24.

2 Shea and Troyer, *The Dabistan*, Vol. I, p. 237, n. 1.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 83.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 304 n.

Thus, we see that there was some intellectual intercourse between Greece and Persia, and that Greece knew Iran and Iran new Greece. So, some of the learned of Iran also may have learnt something of the mystic philosophy of Greece.

IX

WAS THE MYSTICISM, PROFESSED BY AZAR
KAIWAN AND HIS DISCIPLES, KNOWN TO
THE ANCIENT ZOROASTRIANS?

But, even apart from all that is said above, the question rises: Was the Sufism or Mysticism, professed by Azar Kaiwan and his Zoroastrian disciples in the 15th and 16th centuries A.C., known to the ancient Zoroastrians of Persia? Our reply is both 'Yes' and 'No'.

The principal idea, round which Sufism turns, is that of "Divine Love" or "Union with God." If one were to ask: Whether we can trace some thoughts of Union with God in Zoroastrian books, we may say, 'Yes.' In the Patet (s. 1), known as the Patet of Adarbad Marespand, a divine of the Sassanian times, we read:

[illegible]

i.e., "To keep relationship (or communion) with God is this: that, if things come to such a pitch that this body should be given up to the soul, I will give it". One may say, that it is with this view, that one is thus blessed in the Afrin-i-buzurgān (s. 1):

¹ *Vide* the Pazend Texts, by E. K. Antia, p. 119.

has a Fravashi. It is He who bestows *kharenangha* glory, halo, splendour to many and He Himself is full of *kharenangha* (*khur*). He is omnipresent in His creation, but still He is separate from it. So, when homage is paid to His creation, then that homage is paid to Him. Threefold homage is due to Him at first (Nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, nemasê tê Ahura Mazda, thrischit paro anyâish dâmana). But, when we come to the question of other particular beliefs of the School of Azar Kaiwan, we have to say, 'No' to the above question.

Let us first take the question of the transmigration of soul. Zoroastrian books do not speak of this belief. The transmigration of soul, believed in by some nations of the East, have two forms. One is that of transmigration in general, i.e., transmigration even into animals or plants. The second is that of the transmigration of soul into another human form. This is same as re-incarnation. The view of Zoroastrian writings is against these transmigrations. Zoroastrianism does not say 'No' in so many words. But its views generally say 'No.' I personally should say a qualified 'No.' I will make myself clear, when I say "qualified."

Every religion that believes in the immortality of the soul believes in a kind of transmigration. It is transmigration from its former state to another state. But the main question is: Where is that other state? It is in the answer to this question that there lies the rub. It is a large academical question, suggested by Plato in his teachings at the Academy and it is still an undecided question. But, looking to the question from a practical point of view, I think it does not matter much. One cannot dogmatically say, that the next

state is back in this world. One cannot say "God has destined the transmigration to any part of the universe *minus* this earth." It is assuming too much. Why should God exempt earth, as the place of transmigration? Again, on the other hand, one cannot dogmatically say, that the transmigration is back to this earth and this earth alone, and not in any other part of God's Universe.

This question brings us to the question of heaven and hell. Where is Heaven or Paradise? Old Avestaic view of heaven. Where is Hell? They are not localised. If one were to ask me this question "Where is Heaven?" I shall say: "Tell me, where God is. There, where God is, there is Heaven." So, as God is omnipresent, Heaven is omnipresent. The Avesta phraseology for heaven is beautifully comprehensive. The words are "*vahishta ahu*," i.e., the best life. The words do not localise heaven. They say, that heaven is more a condition or state, than a place. The above word "*vahisht*" has given us our English word "best," which is nothing more or less than the Persian word for heaven, viz., "*behesht*" (بهشت). We know that the word 'best' is an irregular superlative of 'good.' The three degrees are "beh," "behtar" (English better) and "behesht" (English best). Be good (beh), and that is your first step towards Heaven. Then try to be better (behtar), and that is your second step towards Heaven. Then try to be best (behesht), and that is your third step towards Heaven. Your heaven, your paradise, your *behesht* is in your hands. You need not wait till death to go to Heaven. Do all you can in this very world to be good, to be better and to be best. That is your progress towards your Heaven, towards your *behesht*. Thus, when your soul passes, even in its lifetime here, from 'good' to 'better' and from 'better' to 'best',

it has a kind of transmigration from one stage to another. But this single life is not sufficient. Soul is immortal. It has still a future before it, where it may still advance towards perfection, the embodiment of which perfect condition is in God. Addison has, in one of the papers of his *Spectator*, very beautifully expressed the thought of this advancement—a thought which is similar to that of communion with God, or union with God. Imagine two parallel lines. God is at the upper end of one line. A man's soul is at the lower end of another line. It rises and rises to go to the top of the line where God stands; but the lines are parallel and they never meet; so, the advancement towards perfection is, as it were, eternal as God is eternal.

But one must bear in mind, that there is no advancement in the case of every soul. There may be advancement and retreat, rise and fall. A man's soul may advance from good to better and from better to best. But, that is not always so. In some cases there may be a check; there may be a fall. The fall may be from good to bad, from bad to worse, from worse to worst. The same is the case with the soul which, being immortal, exists somewhere, we do not know where. This view of the rise and fall is very beautifully expressed by Thomas Moore, in his "Fall of the Angels" which forms an episode of his beautiful "Lalla Rookh." Therein, we learn, that three angels who boasted and thought too much and too highly of themselves in the presence of God, fell from heaven. On the other hand an ordinary songstress, a woman not highly spoken of, rose from the earth to the Heaven. All these considerations lead us to say that in the matter of the belief in the "transmigration of soul,"—as ordinarily understood—back to this earth, we may say a qualified "no." It may be or may not be. It is *terra incognita*.

Coming to the question of the mortification of the body and of the austerities practised by Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, we can positively say "no". The Avesta is averse to all these. One may perhaps suspect, that there may be something of this kind in the times of the Avesta; and so, it was for this reason, that the Avesta speaks strongly against fasting, celibacy and some austerities. For example,

Zoroastrian view
of Mortification and
Austere Practices.

1. Azar Kaiwan's school of Sufis favour celibacy. The Avesta is dead against it (Vendidad, Chap. IV, 47).
2. Azar Kaiwan's school favours self-mortification as one of the ways to be in union with God. The Avesta is quite opposed to this view. On the contrary, it preaches *mens sana in corpore sana*. It is replete with instructions to take care of the body. It says that physical health will lead to mental and moral health.
3. They favoured fasting and abstinence from food. They practised these to such an extent, that they lived only on a few dams or grains of food. Azar Kaiwan lived on a daily ration of one dam. Zoroastrianism simply preached moderation and not abstinence. A full meal was taken to be a means for a healthy spiritual life. Pliny says of Zoroaster that he lived simply on cheese. But that even does not mean that it was abstinence of the above kind. The Vendidad says, that the more the wheat is grown, the more are the evil powers crushed.
4. This school practised and preached asceticism. Zoroastrianism was opposed to such a life. It preached industry and hard work.

It seems that the Parsees of the last century looked with some favour towards the broad general feature of the lives of Azar Kaiwan and his disciples, *viz.*, the feature of a kind of unworldliness and devotion to God. They looked less towards their austerities and more towards their devotion to God. It was that view of their life that led them to look with favour and respect towards the Dabistan and Desatir and towards writings of the disciples of Azar Kaiwan. They encouraged and patronised translations of those writings. The Desatir was translated by Mulla Feroze and published by his successor. The Dabistan was translated and published by Dastur Edalji Sanjana. The Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman was translated—really speaking, it is more a free version than translation—by the same learned Dastur, but the translation has as yet remained unpublished. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrū was translated and published with the text by Munshi Abdul Fatah under the patronage of the first Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy, Baronet, and his Translation Fund. Three other treatises, Khishtab, Zardasht Afshar and Zindehrud, were published and translated by Ervad Dossabhai Munshi under the same patronage. Even now some devoted Parsees look with favour towards these publications. The foundation of the Theosophical Society in Bombay, about fifty-five years ago, has drawn attention to, and has led to the study of, these books. The Jam-i-Kaikhusrū has gone through a second edition, the text of the Sharistan-i-Chahar Chaman has been published by a Persian Zoroastrian. Azar Kaiwan's school was more or less a Persian school, *i.e.*, a school of the Zoroastrians of Persia. He seems to have had only one disciple from the Bombay side. He was from Surat. We do not know by which way Azar Kaiwan and his disciples came to India and

went to Patna. Perhaps, they came to India, as it was then usual, by sea and landed at Surat which was then the port of embarkation and debarkation. They then went to Patna. Perhaps, it was during their stay at Surat at this time that they attracted toward them, Rustam the Parsee of Surat who is mentioned as a disciple of Azar Kaiwan.

It is this inclination or bent of mind towards mysticism and occulticism that led to the publication of a book in Gujarati called *Makulāt-i Bahmani*, a similar book of mysticism.

Makulāt (ماکولات)-i Bahmani, i.e., the Eatables of Bahman.¹ The Gujarati book was, at first, written by Dastur Mulla Kaus bin Rustam, at the instance of Wadiaji Saheb Bahmanji Nowroji in 1157 A.Y., i.e., 1788 A.C., and was published with some explanatory additions, in 1842 A.C., by Fardunji Marzbanji. It is said to be a version, as given in Persian *Kershasp-nāme*, of a conversation between Kersasp, a hero and ancestor of Rustam, and a Brahmin. The following title of the book explains the whole matter :—

“ માકુલાતે બહમની

“ એ કેતાબમે ફરશાશપ નાંમાં મધેનાં ફરશાશપ તથા બરહેમન વચે થાએલા દાનાંધનાં જવાબ શવાલોમેથી થોડાએક જવાબ શવાલ તથા તે શાયે એ માકુલાતે બહમની કેતાબનાં બનાવનાર ઓશતાદે પોતાંની તરફથી ફટલીએક હેકમત તથા દાનાંધ તથા ખોદા શનાંશી તથા નશીહતો તથા નજુમ તથા શેતારાવોની ગરદેશ તથા ચેહારે ઓનશોરની બાબત તથા દીને માંજદીઅશનીનાં નાંદેર શોખનો અને તે વનાંએ બીજુ ઘણુ એક મોખતેશરમે દાખેલ કરેલું છે.

એ કેતાબ

બેહશત બેહરેવાડીઆણ શાહેબ બહમનજી નવરોજીની ફરમાંએશથી સુને ૧૧૫૭ ઇસ્લામીજીનાં શાલમે ફરદોશ નીશીન ઓશતાદે દશવર મોલા કાઉશ બીને રૂશતમ ભરવચી. લકમે. જલાલનાંએ બનાવી છે.

1 I am thankful to Mr. Hoshang T. Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where this work is published, for drawing my attention to it.

એ કેતાબની એખારત ઘણી મુશ્કેલ હતી. તેહને ફરદુનજી મોએદ મરજ્યાનજી એ જાપતી વેલાએ કાંઈએક ફરાવીને આશાન કરી આપી છે.

શ્રી મુમયઈ મધે કાવશજી ફરદુનજીએ દ્વિતર આશકારનાં જાપાખાનાંમાં જાપી છે.

શને ૧૨૧૧ ઇસ્લામી, શને ૧૮૪૨ ખ્રિષ્ટી.”

The book is called Makulāt-i Bahmani, i.e., Eatables of Bahman, from the name of Bahmanji Nowroji Wadia, under whose patronage it was published (*Ibid.* p. 6).¹ This book itself, being on some kind of occultism or mysticism, refers to Azar Kaiwan and some of his disciples, e.g., Azar Kaiwan (on page 56) of whom the author speaks as (શરતાજી બશતે કુસ્તીઆન) a *sartāj* (سرتاج, crown of the head, i.e., leader) of the Zoroastrians (lit., those who tie the *kusti*), and as having visited Kashmir, Akbarabad (Agra) and Patna in the time of Akbar, in the year about 935 or 937 A.Y., i.e., 1566 or 1568 A.C. Its author also, mistakenly speaks of Azar Kaiwan having a son. He speaks of a work of Azar Kaiwan as “મેળઈઅખતે આજર કેવાન”, (مغیاات, Mysteries of Azar Kaiwan). This author refers to Farshidmard having written a Pand-Nāmeḥ (a book of advice) in the name of Ardeshir Babegan (p. 28). It was translated into Arabic by Shaikh Abou Barakat of Bagdad under the name of Badāe-ul-Hekmat ખદાએ હેકમત (بدایع الحکمت, Marvels of Science). He speaks of Kheshtāb as having been written by Aspandiyār bin Behram in the reign of Khoshru Parvez. He speaks of the Sharistān-i Chahar Chaman having been written by Behdin Behram bin Aspandiyār at the instance of Mobad Sarosh and Mobad Hūsh in the time of Akbar. He also speaks of a book Zur'a-i bāstān (زورع باستان, i.e., the seeds of ancient times) containing a letter, with commentary, written by Prophet Zoroaster upon an Indian King.

1. Among the adjectives applied by the publisher, Mr. Fardunji Marzbanji to Dastur Mulla Kaus, the following draw our attention: (a) અતલમીહશે અવાન, i.e. the Ptolemy of the time (آوان, pl. of Arab. آن. ime), and (b) અરશતુ નેશાન, i.e., having the character (*nishān*) of Aristotle.

APPENDIX.

I have said above in section IV, under the marginal heading of "3. The Sharistân", that the book has only three *chamans* that are known. After the proofs of the above paper were paged, Mr. Hoshang Tehmuras Anklesaria, the owner of the Press, where the paper is being printed, on happening to read the paper, kindly sent me a lithographed copy of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman belonging to Prof. M. D. Minocherhomji, which contains, the 4th *chaman*. It is published by Mobad Behram Bizan, Mobad Khudadad Mobad Ardashir Khodabandeh and Rustam, son of (pûr-i) Behram Sarush Takti, in Bombay in 1279 Yazdazardi¹. The publishers say that the book of Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman was written by Farzaneh Behram ibn Farhad bin Aspandiyâr Yazdani,² a disciple of Azar Kaiwan,³ son of Azar Gushasp, who was descended from the fifth Sassan. They say that, among other sciences, the work also contains the science of Geography (علم جغرافيا)⁴. They then say that they, all the three, tried their best to search for the 4th *chaman*. They inquired from all the libraries of Hindustan, but they did not succeed⁵. At last, they saw Dastur Manockji⁶, son of the late Dastur Rustamji (son of) the late Jamsetji Unwala (عون والہ)⁷. Mr. Manockji Unwala showed them three volumes (جلد) of the Sharistân-i Chahâr Chaman. One of these was from the property of Shah Akbar⁸ (مالہ عہد سلطنت مرحوم مغفور اکبر شاہ دہلی). It was written about

1 *Vide* the title-page. 2 *Ibid.* Dibacheh, p. 4, l. 1.

3 *Ibid.* l. 4. 4 *Ibid.* l. 8. 5 *Ibid.* l. 13. 6 *Ibid.* ll. 14-15.

7 For the life of this gentleman, *vide* my "Life-sketch of Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala" in the Darab Hormuzyar's Rivâyat, with my Introduction (pp. I-IX).

8 Dibacheh of the above lithographed edition, p. 5, l. 4.

525 years before¹. This lithographed edition by the above three Irani gentlemen was, as said above, published in 1279 Yazdazardi. So, the date of this manuscript of King Akbar comes to $(1279 - 525 =)$ 754 Yazdazardi, i.e., $(754 + 631 =)$ 1385 A.C. Mr. Manockji Unwala then said to them that they may look into the collection of books of the late Manockji Saheb, son of Limji Hataria². They took the permission of the late Shapurji Behramji Katrat (کترت)³, the manager of this Kitab-khaneh, and copied the 4th *chaman* from it and embodied it in their present edition. The library of the late Manockji Limji Hataria, which was accommodated in the Zarthoshti Anjuman Atash Behram, has now passed into the hands of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. So, it will be well if the 4th *chaman*, as given in the last lithographed edition referred to above, is carefully examined and translated, before accepting it as the real 4th *chaman*.

1 *Ibid.* l. 4.

2 *Ibid* p. 5, l. 7.

3 Katrak, *Ibid.* l. 14.

GOD IN THE GĀTHĀS AND IN THE RĠG-VEDA

BY LATE REV^D. FR. DR. R. ZIMMERMANN, S.J., PH.D.

[I am grieved to say that the author of this paper died at Feldkirch (Austria) on the 8th February 1931, before the paper could be printed and so, mistakes in the paper, if any, will have to be looked upon with indulgence.—*Editor*.]

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The subject-matter of the Government Research Scholarship Lectures of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, for the year 1929, was "God in the Gāthās and in the R̥gveda".¹ Historical circumstances have separated, it seems, the two religions, more than the languages, of the Iranian and the Indian parts of the whole Indo-Iranian group, so far as they are preserved in their literary documents. Greater weight naturally was given to the theological problem of the Gāthās, though the R̥gveda generally is taken to be an older literary and religious document than the Avesta, even the Gāthās. The origin of the Gāthās seems to offer a better circumscribed ground of enquiry than the R̥gveda; yet it would be idle to try to grasp fully one without the other. The treatment of the subject suggests the following:—

A. God in the Gāthās:

I. Introduction: History of the Problem (with special reference to the Avesta) and the Method of its solution.

II. One or Many?

III. Person or Power?

B. God in the R̥gveda.

1 These Lectures were delivered at the Institute premises on the 25th and 28th November, and the 2nd, 13th, 16th and 17th December 1929.

A. GOD IN THE GĀTHĀS.

I. INTRODUCTION : HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM AND
METHOD OF ITS SOLUTION.

It seems easier to fix the conception of the deity which the ancient Iranians had formed than the real idea of God which is expressed or supposed by the R̥gveda. For, it is not so difficult to find out what or whom the Iranian Aryans, at a given point of their literary history, worshipped as the Highest Principle, as it is on the Indo-Aryan side. The reasons are obvious. The line of evolution seems simpler and straighter; the creed preached in the Gāthās, for instance, is at least, to a certain extent, the creation and teaching of one man, expressed in his own words, whereas the Vedic hymns are composed by many. Whatever may have been the extent of the change, which Zarathuštra's reformed teaching implied, his doctrine was never pressed into the service of any but the highest deity. Observation of private and public life may have induced him to acknowledge the (temporary) rule of a principle antagonistic to the highest and essentially good, but still Zarathuštra never wavered for a moment where, in the end, the victory would be.

As the Indo-Aryans, so also the Irano-Aryans, had neither statues nor pictures; whatever elements of an earlier religion may have been taken over and have survived as relics in the new creed, such remnants were not incorporated into the new doctrinal system—unless they fitted well—as they stood, but in a form which in all probability was elevated and spiritualised. For an impartial observer, it is clear that the Mazda religion is dogmatic and consistent to an extent to which very few, if any, of the sister religions of the Indo-European family are. It is a historical fact that the Greeks, who came into the longest and closest touch with

the ancient Iranians, were struck by their ideal and spiritual conception of the deity. Mazdāh Ahura is not only more clearly a supreme, but also a more spiritual deity than any other Aryan god. This pure and spiritual character is shared by the pantheon—if this term is at all correct—of the Avesta; it surpasses those of other Aryan peoples.

It is very common indeed to speak of Zoroastrianism as Dualism: the two highest principles, Mazdāh Ahura, Ormuzd, and Añra Mainyu, Ahriman, being antagonistic. A classical work of the earlier modern critical Avesta literature bears the title: Ormazd et Ahriman; Greek writers from Aristotle to Agathias treat Mazdayasnm as a dualistic system. Shahrasthānī, an Arabic writer of the 11-12th century, institutes a philosophical inquiry into the magic dualism, and its phases and shapes. It cannot be denied that the Gāthās speak of the warring mainyū pourviyē (Cf. 45.2); it may be that dualism, which was latent in Indo-Iranian belief, was taken from the pre-reformed creed and incorporated by Zoroaster into his own system. It may even seem that the universe appears as "split into two halves", one owing allegiance to Mazdāh Ahura and the other to Añra Mainyu, and that thus *de facto* an empire of Bad stood against a realm of Good. But the question seems to be, whether this division was *de jure*, by right, and recognised by Zarathuštra as something philosophically and dogmatically necessary. It is beyond doubt that Mazdāh Ahura's power appears restricted by Añra Mainyu and his deeds, but the question is whether this state of affairs is only tolerated by Mazdāh Ahura for the time being, or imposed upon him by an outside power, whether it is on sufferance, to be done away with as soon as Mazdāh Ahura decrees it, or whether the Evil One and his kingdom have an existence and jurisdiction of their own, and

yield a power which can be neither increased nor decreased by Mazdāh Ahura.

Zarathuštra was a man of deep insight into human nature and possessed a comprehensive knowledge of life. It is thus but natural that his reform includes, nay consists of, a social and economical change, as a natural ground on which to rear the spiritual structure of a new doctrine. Zoroaster's reform, like every other great impulse and uplift, that changed the history of peoples and built houses for nations to last for centuries and millenniums, started with the stomach and from thence rose to head and heart. *Mens sana in corpore sano* was the motto, which he carried out in Iran, before it was pronounced in Rome. On the economic side, it needs no proof that Zarathuštra's doctrine meant a progress which was as great as it was sound. It would be idle to speculate, what rank the reformer assigned to the two sides of his reform, the economical and the religious, or what proportion he saw between them. Economic reform was necessary for the religious change; the religious reform made the great sacrifices worth while, which he had to make in his mission, and gave the mere material change a spiritual meaning.

Nor should it be subject to doubt that Zoroaster's religious reform has been looked upon by himself and by others as a change from Bad to Good, at least from Worse to Better. Taking it that the belief in God as one, the primary and universal principle of being and movement, is a higher stage than the belief in many gods, and seeing that duality is the last stage before unicity, it is to be presumed that Zarathuštra at least aimed at monotheism. Thus, the prejudice in favour of a monotheistic reform by Zarathuštra is justified. The tendency from the many to the one God is clearly traceable in the sister religion of the unreformed ancient Persian doctrine, in the creed professed

and practised by those Aryas who, at that time, were battling their way into the Indian Peninsula. It may thus again safely be presumed that the belief in one God was not wholly absent from the pre-Zoroastrian religion. Whether the unifying process had arrived at such a form of dualism as to put the Principle of Good and that of Vad on a par, we cannot say. But it is likely that dualism, being numerically such a close neighbour of monotheism, if and such as it existed, was developed by Zarathuŝtra in the sense of his own system and incorporated into it.

Like all great reformers, Zarathuŝtra took over as much, and changed as little, of the old as was compatible with the consistency of his teaching. It was but a reflection of his own, often enough bitter, experiences when he represented the two principles as being necessarily at war with one another. He found himself up against what seemed to be unsurmountable difficulties and determined resistance, to such an extent that at times he asked himself: "Shall I ever carry out my mission successfully?" There was a consolation in the higher parallel that Mazdāh Ahura's power also was restricted by Anra Mainyu. But, under such circumstances, it is indeed plausible that Zarathuŝtra's dualism is optimistic: as he in moments of quiet reflection and cool calculation could not give up faith in final success, without giving up himself, so was Mazdāh Ahura in the end victorious, and the Empire of the Good Principle would be universal and everlasting after the definite overthrow of the power of Darkness and Untruth. Thus Zoroaster's dualism is in reality monotheistic, a quasi-monotheism. And unless we sever theology and philosophy in a manner, which may become fatal to both, we shall not be able to accept Haug's statement that Zoroaster's speculative philosophy is monotheism, and his theology is dualism. If the first half of the assertion is correct, as it actually is, the second is illogical and has to be rejected. The doctrine of Zoroaster

is a reflection of his own religious and psychological experience, which drove him towards victorious monotheism. The psychological-theological parallelism between the preacher and the preaching show clearly in which direction Zarathuštra's final aim was lying. The monotheistic tendency of the Zoroastrian reform is confirmed by the fact that later phases of the belief accept one common cause for everything, be it Space, Time, Light, or Fate. The first three, but especially the third, make one suspect that they are but various shapes of the old Indo-Iranian Dyauspiti.

It is gratifying to see that leading Parsee thinkers and writers of today hold the same opinion about Zoroastrian dualism as has been suggested above. This is the more important because they represent the living tradition which originated the very moment the Gāthās were preached, endured through all the centuries of antiquity and medieval times, and express aspects of Zoroastrianism which possibly never were committed to writing. A mere glance at the Gāthās will convince any reader of philosophical and theological sources that, as they stand, the Gāthās cannot be the entire depository of Zoroaster's doctrine. For that doctrine, from the very beginning, was a self-contained and consistent system. Still, the Gāthās are much more a course of sermons than a well arranged logical exposé of Zoroaster's reform. Thus, it is no wonder that even such a fundamental teaching as the double causality, one good and the other bad, should be so vaguely expressed as to leave room not only for doubt but error on the part of students of the Avesta as serious as unbiassed.

The value of Avesta Tradition has its counterpart in Vedic Tradition which no amount of critical acumen can replace. It is true, tradition itself may become a source of error and lead one away from the correct interpretation of a text. It would not be difficult to adduce examples both

from Avesta and Vedic exegesis. But if the explanation of a text, which by itself is not decisive enough to impose a certain interpretation, is supported by tradition, and appears neither by the same text nor any other external authority contradicted, then tradition has to be followed. Such a case, on an unusual scale, is offered by the problem of Iranian Dualism, where the neglect or contempt of tradition has the only advantage of uncertainty and error. To form a correct and as complete as possible an idea of God in the Gāthās every bit of evidence has to be examined, concurring statements co-ordinated and subordinated, contrary pronouncements have to be balanced against one another. Literary sources like the Gāthās have, as far as possible, not only to be read with the eyes of the 20th century Parsee, but with the mentality of an actual hearer of Zarathuṣtra, lending a willing ear to the new but eager message conveyed by the preacher in his native land some 2500—3000 years ago.

II. ONE OR MANY ?

In Avesta Theology, the first question to be settled on the evidence of the text is whether the Gāthās teach One or Many, at least Two Supreme Principles, the sources of all Being and Movement. It is true, more than one such principle would, strictly speaking, be a contradiction in terms, and demand a still higher and final Principle which could be considered as the ultimate source and basis of the Two or More "Supreme" Principles, admitted and taught perhaps for practical purposes. The unavoidable logical conclusion arriving at One Principle might have been kept back for some reason or other by Zarathuṣtra from his audience, leaving it to teachers and commentators of a philosophically and theologically more matured age to proclaim the logical and metaphysical One behind the apparent Many.

It has to be admitted that the appearance, that Zarathuṣtra's doctrine is dualistic, could be given, at least favoured, by the Gāthā text itself. Relatively, a small number of passages give Mazdāh Ahura explicitly as the One, Sole Principle from which everything ultimately comes, and to which it points. At first sight, he might appear as *Primus inter pares*. But it is a little strange that Mazdayasnmism has been so generally and so persistently taken as a specimen, nay sometimes as the type, of Dualism. It is the more surprising that this has been done at a time when the Avesta had long been freed from the chains that had locked it up, literally and metaphorically, and scholars of first rank had analysed the text and reconstructed a doctrine so far known mainly from hearsay. If not by explicit statement, at least by correct and easy inference, as well as by the general trend, a good number of Gāthā passages disclose Mazdāh Ahura as the One and Sole Principle, forming the physical and metaphysical basis of the universe. This principle is one and the same both for the philosophy and the theology of Zoroastrianism.

In Hā 28.4 Zarathuṣtra hopes for reward through Mazdāh Ahura; in the next line Zoroaster, as a knowing one, desires to behold in vision the throne of the most powerful Ahura and the suite of Mazdāh (28.5.) In verse 10, Mazdāh alone is to fulfil the desire of the devotee; in verse 11, the prophet, eager to deposit (with his audience) good deed and good thought, *i.e.*, the doctrine and practice, which were the burden of his mission, prays to Mazdāh Ahura to reveal out of his spirit the fate in "the first life". Yasna 29.4ff., a compendium of Zoroaster's religious and economical reform, depicts Mazdāh Ahura as the sole authority for the reform; in his hands lie the fates and fortunes of all. Yasna 29.7 is rendered by Bartholomae: "Mazdāh Ahura, the holy one, by his command has created the word-

about the fat, and the milk for those who need food." Mr. Punegar translates: "Ahura formulated that Manthra of-invocation, Mazdah (formulated) sound for the universe, and the Bountiful-One Himself (formulated) doctrines for the enlightened ones." Different as the renderings are, they are at one in considering Mazdāh Ahura as the author of the reform that was to renew the face of the Iranian earth. To please Mazdāh Ahura is the purpose of those who hate Druj, 30.5; the kingdom of reward comes from Mazdāh Ahura, 30.8; destination for reward and the final decision rest alone with Mazdāh, 30.11. The good ones are devoted to Mazdāh, 31.1; 31.2 has an appeal of Zarathuštra to Mazdāh, emphasizing that He is the Judge (Bartholomae, Punegar=Lord) of the opposing parties. In the next line Mazdāh Ahura appears as the arbiter and awarder without appeal of sanction, because He is the founder and revealer of the order of wisdom and foolishness, of right and wrong, 31.3. Correspondingly, 31.7 shows Him planning, creating, and distributing the spaces, even as the creator of Aša.

In the above passages Mazdāh Ahura is the fountain head of Zoroaster's reform, the fundamental principle of the cosmic order, which He created and is sustaining, but He is not less the author of the moral law and order, the destinies in the first life are in His hands, in the distribution of reward He is the final arbiter:—Such was Mazdāh Ahura as He was living in the head and heart of Zarathuštra and inspiring him, as can be gathered even from the poor fragments of the Gāthic sermons alone.—In all these passages Mazdāh Ahura appears and acts alone; in the following, those pronouncements of the Gāthās are inquired into in which Mazdāh Ahura appears in company with others, mostly of course in company of the Ameša Spentas.

Who are the Ameša Spentas? The canonical Iranian

literature mentions them as the creatures of Ahura Mazdāh, His helpers in such a way that they are His agents and instruments, at times his representatives. There are very few Gāthic passages which in so many words declare that Aša, and that alone, has been created by Mazdāh Ahura. In all other respects the doctrine regarding the Ameša Spentas has its roots in the Gāthās. Throughout the whole authoritative literature, the nature and especially the position of the Ameša Spentas in the Iranian "pantheon" and their relation to Ahura Mazdāh is a mere doctrinal development of the Gāthic statements in a straight line.

It is worthy of note that the names of four of the Ameša Spentas, later called Amashaspands, are even in their grammatical form abstract qualities: Kšathra Vairya, Spenta Armaiti, Haurvatat, and Ameretat; only Vohu Manah and Aša Vahišta appearing in a more concrete form. Sraoša (masculine), Obedience, too, who at times is mentioned among the Ameša Spentas to make up the number seven, is an abstract moral quality. This abstract nature of the greater part of the whole group favours the view that the Ameša Spentas originally were conceived as attributes of Mazdāh Ahura. It should not be overlooked that just the first two, Vohu Manah and Aša Vahišta, seem to be clear extensions of Mazdāh Ahura, the Wisdom Ahura, Vohu Manah more on the side of mind and intellect, Aša rather on the moral side. Thus, it is but natural that Mazdāh Ahura in later commenting literature is represented as the Monarch whose viziers are the Ameša Spentas. Their relation to Mazdāh Ahura is correctly given by the Pahlavi literature as that of "Ministering Angels", carrying out the behests of the Most High, Ahura Mazdāh. Theologically this seems to be as much as to say that the Ameša Spentas in reality are the divine attributes, manifesting the divine nature. This

being the case the order in which Mazdāh Ahura and the Ameša Spentas are given cannot be said to be of very great importance: both, a certain regularity in the enumeration as well as exceptions from the regularity, in all likelihood, may be explained from the real meaning of the Ameša Spentas, and the context in which they occur. The very fact that the sequel varies seems to imply that it does not mean rank; the variation is so frequent that in the Avesta too we would arrive at a Henotheism *pro tempore*, technically called Kathenotheism. This has been declined for the R̥gveda, where there is much more ground for accepting it than in the Avesta, in the Gāthās especially. An enquiry into each passage in which Mazdāh Ahura appears in company of other Ahuras will show whether Mazdāh Ahura is in the mind of Zarathuštra the One and Absolute, or only the One among the Many.

Yasna 28 opens in verse 1 with a prayer to Mazdāh. The more immediate purpose are the deeds and the wisdom of Vohu Manah, the final purpose is the gratification of the Geuś Urvan. Spenta Mainyu, Aša, and Vohu Manah are only instruments in the realisation of Zarathuštra's prayer and programme. Again in verse 2, Good Mind and Righteousness may refer to Zarathuštra and his hearers. In that case it is clear that they are only means for obtaining one's wishes. It seems however that Vohu Manah is addressed together with Mazdāh Ahura as the object of worship and service by Zarathuštra. But the very contents of the prayer make it intelligible why Vohu Manah is addressed and ranked side by side with Mazdāh Ahura. For right prayer has to start from Humata that it may lead to Hvaršta, according to Aša. Vohu Manah is not ranked here with Mazdāh Ahura, but with Aša, which in any case appears as a mere instrument. In 3, if we (like Punegar) take *apourviyem* as an adjective, as it seems it should be taken:

then the question of parity between Mazdāh Ahura on the one hand and Vohu Manah, Aša, and the other Ahuras mentioned oftenest with him on the other, does not arise at all. Whether we take Ārmaiti as subjective 'devotion or a deity of the earth, she too, at best, is on the same level as the other Ahuras, and so should be regarded as lower than Mazdāh Ahura.

It appears to be the rule that, though accompanied by other Ahuras, Mazdāh Ahura, either by his appearance or the function attributed to him, is superior to the rest. Any verse of the first Gāthā, for instance, will bear out this statement. Thus in verse 9, Mazdāh, Aša and Vahišta Manah seem to be in one line through power and honour, still Mazdāh Ahura is given a special place by the prophet's addressing himself solely to him at the beginning. The inverted order is observed in 29.10, where Mazdāh Ahura, Aša and Vohu Manah indeed together grant strength and dominion; but in the end, it is declared that Mazdāh achieves it all as the First (Bartholomae). Whether this priority is one of time or extension of jurisdiction or any other superiority, the other Ahuras are made to act not only with Mazdāh, but after his example. In verse 11, in which the covenant between Zarathuštra, the King, and the Deity is sanctioned and sealed, Mazdāh Ahura alone is finally appealed to.

In Yasna 30.1, Zarathuštra announces, as the burden of his sermons, the praises of Ahura, the prayers to Vohu Manah, and the Mantras proper for Aša (Punegar). The passage seems to serve a more practical, especially devotional purpose, rather than express a dogmatic tenet. Ahura, in any case, is mentioned in the first place. Verse 9, for once, seems to raise all the Ahuras to the rank of Mazdāh. Such a degree of convertibility either is equivalent to perfect kathenotheism, or it is tantamount to a co-ordination in rank of Ahura Mazdāh with his own personi-

fied attributes. The latter is of course the alternative to be adopted; needless to say that it is logically and theologically perfectly correct. The same view will also explain why in verse 10, Mazdāh appears enumerated between Vohu Manah and Aša, a sequel rather rarely observed in the Gāthās, or why in 31.4 Mazdāh (and all the Ahuras) are given after Aša and before Aši and Ārmaiti. Though in verse 6, Aša and Vohu Manah function in their proper spheres, they do so as the agents of Mazdāh Ahura and the increasers of his realm. To reach that is the highest aim; all else is means to that end; that realm is Ahura's *par excellence* and all the other Ahuras are his ministers. Nothing new for our point is contained in 33.14, where Zarathuštra offers himself up to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša or in 51.20, which makes Aša, Vohu Manah, Ārmaiti and Mazdāh stand on the same level.

The examination of the passages, which show Mazdāh Ahura in company with other divine beings, yields the interesting result that he is, in a limited number of cases, put on the same rank with the other Ahuras, that in a smaller number they are raised to his level, but that nowhere he is made inferior to any one of them. Thus the impression gained from the passages, in which Mazdāh Ahura appears alone and as the One First Principle, is not contradicted by those which give him other Ahuras, especially Vohu Manah and Aša, as companions. The fact that Ahura Mazdāh is not only One First Principle, but THE FIRST PRINCIPLE, in other words, that he is not *Primus inter pares*, but the Sole and Sovereign First Principle, is amply borne out directly by numerous Gāthic passages which speak of Mazdāh Ahura's Independence.

A more definite profession of Mazdāh Ahura's sovereignty than Yasna 31.21 gives, we must not expect either in the Gāthās or, for the matter of that, in any literary

document which only contains the elements of a theology, not a ready-made system of divinity. "Through his perfect sovereignty Mazdāh Ahura will grant the everlasting company with Haurvatat and Ameretat, with Xšathra and Vohu Manah to him who in spirit and in deed is his friend." The promise of never-ending association with Haurvatat and Ameretat would also seem to suggest that Xšathra and Vohu Manah, like Haurvatat and Ameretat, in reality are nothing but divine attributes. Yasna 32, verse 2, introduces Mazdāh Ahura speaking to the tribe's chieftains, naturally through Xšathra which, consequently becomes a mere mouthpiece of Mazdāh Ahura, or his agent. Yasna 33.4-7 contain the means and the end of the "Economy of Salvation" in Zoroaster's doctrine: it is clear from these verses that Mazdāh Ahura is the overlord, the aim and end of all that forms the code of the Zoroastrian reform. Even Sraoša, to be invoked as "the greatest in the consummation" is only Mazdāh Ahura's, therefore his agent and executor of commands only. It comes a little as a surprise when in the same Yasna, verse 8, other Ahuras are given, but this time without Mazdāh Ahura. A look however at the contents of the verse shows the reason for this rather exceptional omission: Vohu Manah, Aša, Haurvatat, and Ameretat clearly appear as functionaries in their respective spheres of jurisdiction; there was really no room for Mazdāh Ahura, who before and after is brought in as the ruler and the disposer of favours and rewards in this world and the one to come.

Mazdāh Ahura knows no one besides Himself to circumscribe His will or limit His sphere of action. He rules according to his own will, 43.1. When in the same Yasna, verse 11, Sraoša is mentioned as His, Ahura Mazdāh's, the expression in a popular exposition, as the Gāthic sermons were, comes

as near as advisable to the more accurate view that Sraoša, like all other Ahuras, is but a personified divine attribute. Really nothing is wanting in clearness, when verse 16 represents the holiest spirits, such as Aša, Ārmaiti and Vohu Manah, as Mazdāh Ahura's again. As consistently as plainly 45.6 calls Ahura Mazdāh simply the greatest of all, Ahuras and all besides Himself. See also 53.8. Zoroaster concisely designates the new religion whose messenger he is as that of Mazdāh Ahura, 49.6; 53.2.

According to 47.2 Mazdāh Ahura is the father of Aša, which expresses as clear a causal as an intimate relation between the two. In the very next verse, Mazdāh is the father (Bartholomae, Punegar: furtherer) of the Spirit who created the kine. Occasionally the grammatical construction by itself brings out the unique position of Mazdāh Ahura, as compared with the other Ahuras. Thus, to mention only one example, in 50.1, Mazdāh Ahura is singled out from Aša and Vahišta Manah, in whose company He appears, by the vocative case, the others being in the ablative. Three verses later, praise and adoration are given to Mazdāh Ahura together with Aša, Vahišta Manah and Xšathra, but here again Mazdāh Ahura is singled out from the rest by the direct address in the vocative. The exalted position of Mazdāh is hinted at in 50.11, where Mazdāh Ahura and Aša are immediately, though not together, addressed, Vohu Manah being left outside. Perhaps this passage too consistently makes Mazdāh Ahura occupy a position superior to all, even Aša. 51.15 asserts that Mazdāh Ahura obtained as the first the reward of the Magavan in the House of Praise, Garodemana, which is as much as to say it is owned by him. To please Mazdāh, to praise and worship Him is the α and ω of the religion whose prophet is Zarathuštra, and whose founder is Ahura Mazdāh Himself: this is stated in 53.2.

After such definite statements there was not much danger in addressing prayers to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša, 50.8; or in saying that moral works and physical phenomena are in honour of the same two, or when in the marriage sermon in 53.3, Zarathuštra exhorted his youngest daughter in the popular strain. There can indeed be little doubt that Mazdāh Ahura is in the physical and metaphysical, as well as in the religious and the moral order, the Independent and therefore Highest Principle. Not one, not even the highest and most perfect Ahura, Aša, who is oftenest mentioned together with Mazdāh Ahura, whose councillor and right hand he is in executing orders, does by nature or function equal Mazdāh Ahura. It is therefore not correct to say that Zoroastrianism is philosophically dualistic, theologically monotheistic.

The Gāthās do not seem to go beyond statements about the Unicity and Independence of Mazdāh Ahura. Other attributes of the nature of God, the First Principle, are not explicitly stated. From unicity and independence, however, other attributes may be inferred, and it has to be admitted that the Gāthās do not contain any pronouncement which would go against these conclusions. Thus the Gāthās yield a negative argument that the idea of God, as conceived by Zarathuštra, was not excluding divine attributes which a more subtle theology would demand and develop. Zarathuštra's silence on these deeper speculative points is explicable: he had to teach first the elements of a reform to an audience, neither always very fit nor willing to hear a message, which meant for them that they often enough had to burn what they had adored so far, and to adore what they had burnt hitherto. Moreover, the Gāthās, even if we had them in a textually much more perfect condition, are fragments, and no more, of Zarathuštra's preaching. The text, as it stands, presupposes a fuller explanation of

certain points, evidently given before. Still, not a single one of the attributes of God's nature cannot easily be deduced from the facts actually given by the Gāthās.

The self-existence, to start with, follows directly from the independence. It is however remarkable that Zoroaster did not bring out this attribute directly. For स्वधावत्, which in the original etymological meaning is self-existent, is a fairly common epithet of more than one Vedic deity. It is not unlikely that the idea of स्वधावत्तम्, self-existence, was already a property of the Indo-Iranian period. If so, there is good reason to assume that it was contained in pre-Zoroastrian Iranian belief, just before the reform. But this may have been the very reason why Zarathuštra studiously avoided to mention it expressly. Infinity does not seem to be mentioned directly or indirectly. This may be explained on the ground that the Zoroastrian idea of the divinity is much more moral and ethical than physical or metaphysical, because according to his individual purquestions of final right and wrong, good and bad were foremost in his mind. It was then as practical as it was logical on the reformer's part to invest Mazdāh Ahura with right and goodness in a supreme degree. Yet Zoroaster's idea of God takes note of infinity as well: nothing prevents us from taking Haurvatāt as Divine Entirety, which is the positive equivalent for the negative Infinity. This of course supposes that the Ahuras are taken as personified divine attributes.

From Haurvatat there is but a short step to Omnipresence. This attribute was tacitly given to Mazdāh Ahura, to judge from the Omniscience and his all-comprehensive Rule, which not even the worst follower of Druj can escape or shake off in the end. On a better grounding than Infinity rests the Eternity of Mazdāh Ahura. It is definitely stated that he gives life in eternal bliss, 53.1. Not only

present and future are embraced by Mazdāh's eternity, but the past as well. His eternity is therefore absolute, without beginning and end. Because he knows everything that is, will be, and was, His existence is presupposed by His knowledge, as nobody else could have taught Mazdāh Ahura. The second life, the reward, is unchangeable, and this suggests that Mazdāh Ahura, the author of that life, is immutable Himself.

The enquiry so far has led to a monotheism taught by the Gāthās. Even those who saw Dualism in Zoroaster's system have never accused it of being monistic, denying either the existence of God, or identifying God and the World. God is one according to the Gāthās, and the World with all it contains is His creation and realm. The next question is whether Zoroastrian monotheism is personal or impersonal.

III. PERSON OR POWER.

Person, as we take it, is a complete, individual, reasonable Being, either wholly immaterial—spiritual, or composed and consisting of body and soul, but in any case being endowed with intellect and will, self-conscious. Nowhere, it seems, do the Gāthās attribute a body or merely material actions to Mazdāh Ahura, though they nowhere state in plain words that He is a pure spirit either. True enough, Mazdāh Ahura acts in human fashion, sees, disposes, rewards, and punishes, but this is only an adaptation to the hearer, such as every religious document, even those professing a Pure Spirit as the Highest Principle, have to resort to. The mode of expression is taken from human actions, which are of course both material and immaterial. The Gathic data about this point are so scanty, that it is much easier to say and prove what Mazdāh Ahura is not, than what he is. He is certainly not a pure body, as passages like "Teach me through thy Spirit" flatly contradict such

an assumption. Again such passages as 34.2, 45.10, according to which worship is offered or due to Mazdāh Ahura, or 34.3, which enjoins sacrifice to be offered up to Him, do of course not impair the spiritual nature of Mazdāh Ahura, but implicitly they assert his personality without ambiguity.

From the Unicity and Sovereignty, shown above, follow the Individuality and Self-containedness or Completeness as a person of Ahura Mazdāh. Intellect in its various aspects and functions as well as will and power are so clearly attributed by the Gāthās to Mazdāh Ahura that his nature as a rational Being is beyond doubt. Right at the beginning, Yasna 28.5 speaks of obedience to his Omniscience (Punegar), and Zarathuštra is convinced that he is heard through Mazdāh Ahura's Omniscience, 28.7. He, Mazdāh, is the "discerner" between the deeds of men and demons, past and present, according to 29.4, which implies that he reads the heart and penetrates from outer works into inner motives. For this reason both the soul of the Primeval Bull and that of the Pregnant Cow (Punegar: the propelled universe), beseech Mazdāh Ahura that woe may not betide the pious agriculturist from the followers of Druj, 29.5. Because Mazdāh Ahura knows through introspection, his knowledge is wider than that of Aša, 29.6. The object of Mazdāh's knowledge is limited neither by the intrinsic nature of the thing to be known, nor by external circumstances, such as time, as he knows what is to be and what not, 31.5. The knowledge of unknown and future things is attributed to Mazdāh Ahura in 31.16, too. It is fit and proper that such a comprehensive mind should plan the spaces, *i.e.*, conceive in his mind the creation of the universe, 31.7. Not only is Mazdāh Ahura's knowledge all-comprehending extensively and intensively: wisdom outside Him leads back to Him as the

source, and hence we have "the spirit of Geuś Tašan was thy wisdom," 31.9.

Mazdāh Ahura observes with a glittering eye the fates meted out to evil-doers, as they are deserved by them, and perceives it all through Aša, 31.13. One should rather expect Vohu Manah in the place of Aša here. It appears all quite natural, however, when Aša's character as Truth and Councillor of Mazdāh is taken into consideration. In 32.6 Ahura Mazdāh is said to know everybody's merit and to remember it through Vahišta Manah. In the verse immediately following, it is simply stated that Mazdāh Ahura knows the end of wicked deeds, the pouring out of the glowing metal. "Thy spirit is to be brought about by Vahišta Manah" is Zarathuštra's earnest prayer in 33.9.

Mazdāh Ahura's intellectual power is so prominent that he is held up as the archetype of those who know: 43.3 speaks of him as "knowing and holy like Thee, O Mazdāh"; 45.3 gives him simply as "the knowing Mazdāh", and according to 48.2 Ahura Mazdāh is the knowing one *par excellence*, knowing as He does the future. Owing to his knowledge, Mazdāh may well be considered as "the teacher of good-mindedness", 31.17. He teaches through Aša the possession of the Good Spirit. From him agriculture is to be learnt, *i.e.*, he is the real author of, and the authority for, the economical reform which goes hand in hand with the religious renovation preached by Zarathuštra, and is as integral a part of his message as the dogmatic teaching, 33.6. In fine, doctrine, good action, as well as its sanction come from Mazdāh Ahura, 34.15. Through his wisdom Mazdāh Ahura taught Zarathuštra the best, 45.6. In 48.3 it is asserted that the well-meaning Ahura teaches through Aša the best doctrine. And towards the end of the Gathic discourses it is stated categorically that Mazdāh Ahura is the first teacher, 51.3.

It is then no presumption on the part of Mazdāh Ahura when in 43.10 He offers to answer any question which Zarathuštra might care to put. The offer is not made light-heartedly, for Zarathuštra's question is like the question of the mighty ones. The questionnaire put before Mazdāh is contained in 44.1-19, each verse starting with the formula:—"That I ask thee". The queries, which in most cases are merely rhetorical questions as they imply the answer, are not too logically arranged, but they cover a wide field or points of importance and interest, general and individual, spiritual and material, this life and the next, cosmology, cult, but especially the fate of the reform and events at the final reckoning. The first question, in 1, is about prayer, how it should be addressed to "one like Thee, Mazdāh Ahura". This is a remarkable passage, which puts prayer foremost among all the interests that moved Zarathuštra's heart, and brings out Mazdāh Ahura's nature as an intellectual and personal Being, prayer not being addressed to anyone else. The second question jumps over work and struggle in this life and is concerned with the reward in "the best existence". This is a clever psychological and pedagogical device to console and strengthen himself and his followers in the trials of this life.

Mazdāh Ahura being the creator and ruler of the world, he is fitly asked by Zarathuštra about the creation and the order of the macrocosm, 3, the kingdoms and powers of nature in particular, 4. He asks further about the author of alternating night and day, the basis for the division between work and rest, about the maker of morning, noon and night, which remind men of his duties, 44.5. Mazdāh Ahura is aptly credited with the wise connection between brute nature and intellectual man, so that the former may be a fit dwelling place for the latter

and an occasion for fulfilling his higher and lower duties. Only to those who are ignorant of the mentality of even the greatest of mortals, and are not aware of the ups and downs of those who have achieved the greatest deeds, often enough in spite of themselves, so to say, the next question may sound like a surprise. Zarathuštra enquires about the truth of his own teaching and the sanction put upon it by Ahura Mazdāh. If the question was put in a moment of depression it serves in reality as an appeal to Mazdāh Ahura made by the preacher, and comes to a calling in of Mazdāh as a witness for both the truth of his teaching and the fulfilment of reward and punishment. Verse 7 takes up the subject mentioned in 1, and extends the query to the social order, by asking who made the son paying obedience and respect to his father? By putting in verse 8 a question about his (Zoroaster's) own capability, perseverance and reward, Zarathuštra acknowledges Mazdāh as one who searches heart and kidneys, knows not only our future, but even ourselves better than we do. If the next verse forms the topic of a renewed enquiry, it only shows that Zarathuštra was by no means self-confident, that he, like many of those who taught others, did not at all feel sure about themselves. This assurance, so badly needed, could only be given by Mazdāh Ahura, because he alone had knowledge both of the preacher and his work, and his glance alone would be cast into the future.

All the following questions, with the exception of that contained in the last verse of the Gāthās, turn some way or other on the Reform. Mazdāh therefore as the real author of the reform, is credited with a knowledge hidden to every human eye and mind. First (in 10) "Will the new creed not only be accepted, but observed as well?" forms the burden of the next anxious question. In other words, will Zarathuštra's mission be a success or a failure? Consider-

ring the slow process, rarely complete, of work, like that with which Zarathuštra found himself entrusted, such a question is as natural as important. Moreover will those who accept the new teaching be pious? 11. Or will they be as bad or worse than those who were never touched by the reform, and therefore a standing discredit to it? Again a question to be answered only by one who reads the souls and the future, such as Mazdāh Ahura. Some insight into the hearts is necessary also for the spiritual teacher, if he is not to waste the doctrine as well as his energy and time uselessly. For this reason Zarathuštra asks in 12 for discernment between spirits and intentions, a favour which only Mazdāh Ahura can grant, as he alone possesses it of His own. Because of Mazdāh it is said that He will distinguish between the wise and the foolish, 46.17.

Reforms in religious matters will touch material interests, as they take hold of the whole man, body and soul, in his private and public life, duties and rights. Even if Zarathuštra's teaching had been less pronouncedly an economic reform than it actually was, he could not have helped to further and to thwart material interests, just as he could not have avoided altogether political means, such as alliances, to gain his end. In fact, the task put upon Zoroaster's shoulder was a complicated one, and he must have felt the burden the more the less he found the occupation with material problems and matters to his taste. The prayer for following the right procedure in order to get rid of the followers of Druj comes quite natural from Zoroaster's lips. It is only Mazdāh Ahura who can give a competent reply, he alone being able to fathom the wickedness of the fiend and his followers. But even being shown the right way, in which to overcome the arch-enemy, the preacher was by no means certain whether he himself would have the necessary prudence and patience to put the advice

into practice and follow the inspiration of Mazdāh so as to bring about the downfall of Druj and its associates. This being a question as important as impossible to be answered by merely human wisdom, it is put in 44.14 to Mazdāh Ahura, implying that his knowledge is superhuman.

The same anxiety is brought out by the following query: "Will Zarathuštra be drawn into the turmoil when the two hostile powers meet?" One may hear through these words the weariness of the preacher, who would have been happy in meditating on the message, he was convinced he had received from above, and in conveying it to others for their welfare. But the message had to be given in the face of a hostile power, deadly opposed to it and determined to fight it tooth and nail, preventing its acceptance and spread step by step. Hence the anxious question, "Shall Zarathuštra be caught in the maelstrom when the two warring powers and principles will meet to fight out the question whether Truth or Falsehood, Right or Wrong, Virtue or Vice is to prevail, whether the Iranian world is to be a kingdom of Heaven of the Good Spirit or a kingdom of Hell of the Bad Spirit." Again, only Mazdāh Ahura can give the answer. For he alone knows where final victory will lie.

From a merely human point of view the odds were so great that Zarathuštra found himself driven to ask for a potent, victorious Protector and Judge of his own followers, 44.16. See also 46.7. He even ventures to ask for a vision showing him the Arbiter (16). Needless to say, this request can have a meaning only if Mazdāh Ahura possesses full knowledge of things hidden to everybody else, and has the means so to show the supernatural truth as to remove all doubt and anxiety from the mind of Zoroaster. It looks like a refrain when in 17 the simple question is put again: "Shall I succeed or fail?" a repetition betraying the harrassed soul of the teacher. It would be underrating

the motives of Zarathuštra if we were to measure them only by the question immediately put after, concerning the reward here through his own material prosperity, and (hereafter) also through immortality, 18. And it would be nothing but derogatory to the teaching of Zarathuštra and to himself that he had been toiling a lifetime, calling upon God as a witness for his message, stirring the nation to its depths, risking civil war merely for ten steeds, a stallion and a camel, to which immortality is added, as it would seem, only as an after-thought? The meaning of this question, which of course amounts in Zarathuštra's mind to a positive assurance: these things imply a sanction of his doctrine and work, the material prosperity asked for being a witness for the soundness of the economical reform and a token of greater things as a reward in store for the other life. The last verse of the questionnaire is rather loosely connected with the rest, though it shows the same outward form. It concerns the general ethical question of the punishment of him who refuses to pay wages due. Yet it may serve as a proof for the omniscience of Mazdāh Ahura, as nobody else can tell what immediate punishment may be meted out in this life to one guilty of such a sin.

The questions asked in Yasna 44 subject Mazdāh Ahura's knowledge to such a rigorous test that only all-knowingness can stand it. Still the fictitious examination which Mazdāh has to undergo before Zarathuštra concerns only individual objects of knowledge, though certainly recondite and detailed enough. Nowhere is the doctrine of Mazdāh Ahura's omniscience clearly pronounced, it is merely implied. But already in the following Yasna, 45.4, Mazdāh Ahura is credited in so many words with knowing everything, when it is stated that the all-perceiving Ahura is not to be deceived. In 48.3 Mazdāh is addressed as one who knows the secret sayings and truths through the mental

power of Vohu Manah, which comes to this that all super-human knowledge is to be found in Mazdāh Ahura.

In the face of ever new obstacles and amidst unceasing trials Zarathuštra did, even after having had an assurance by a vision, not less lose courage again and again than any other struggling mortal, whose despondency may border on despair, the more he is convinced of the greatness of his task, the keener he feels the responsibility, and the more he sees the small results so far achieved. Hence the iterated inquiry about certain important points concerning his mission, 48.8-9, a care which accompanies Zarathuštra almost right up to the end of his recorded teaching, 51.11. Well knowing that his work is but half, or less than half, done, unless he finds a willing ear with the higher classes, he does not hesitate to ask Mazdāh Ahura whether his teaching will succeed with them, 40.10-11. Similarly in 44.18 he inquires once more whether pastoral and agricultural prosperity in fulfilment of Mazdāh's promises will be enjoyed. It was a source of consolation and renewed energy when he told his hearers, and not less himself, that Mazdāh Ahura has the surest knowledge. And his confidence must have been regained when he thought that Mazdāh in person said to him: "When they who, among all those many that see the sun, live up to Right, are in the scrutiny and manifestation, I shall lead them into the mansion of the prudent, *i.e.*, the faithful and pious ones." Mazdah Ahura has together with Aša thought out the paths of Vohu Manah (15.16); those paths surely lead to paradise which is reached by the hints and helps of Mazdāh Ahura. Relying on Mazdāh Ahura's all-embracing knowledge, Zarathuštra's conviction in his teaching and his work is confirmed and appears coupled with that hope without which no hard and taxing work, whether big or small, has ever been achieved. The fact that Zarathuštra may have

faltered, but did not fail, is due to his belief in the all-perceiving Ahura, who is not to be deceived, 45.3.

Turning to the enquiry into the will of Ahura Mazdāh the problems of a supreme, from outside unrestricted will, of the freedom of will, of antecedent and actual help or providence and assistance in particular cases asked for, meet us. All these attributes of the will are necessary in a supreme divine personality. For all of these, in a more or less pronounced degree, there are data to be found in the Gāthās. Naturally, Mazdāh Ahura's will being the absolute rule for goodness and virtue, he is emphatically declared to be holy. Whatever conforms to his will is right and good, whatever goes against it is wrong and bad. This characteristic of holiness is so prominent that it cannot but strike even a superficial reader of the Gāthās.

A comparison with other supreme deities of the Indo-European family clearly marks off Mazdāh Ahura from the rest, whose moral side is far less developed. If the attribute of sanctity is given to them at all, it is found in none of them with such emphasis, purity and consistency, as in the Iranian deity, whose prophet Zoroaster was. In this respect his doctrine approaches the Semitic conception of God, and it is a point in which the hand of the reformer is clearly to be seen.

The fight between good and bad was not only one of principles, to be settled in sermons and disputations, but a concrete strife, in which the warring parties bodily represented the maxims either according to, or against, Mazdāh Ahura's will. Thus the prophet prays in the first Gāthā, 28.4, for assistance to overcome the enmities of the enemy. It need not cause any surprise that just in points of justice and goodness, in general, Aša appears associated with Mazdāh Ahura, though not as his equal, as the text shows again and again, but as the agent and instrument of

Mazdāh. Aša is gained according to the first laws of Ahura, 46.15, and to mention one individual instance, Zoroaster avers that Aša was obtained by Frašaoštra Hvogva through Mazdāh Ahura, 51.17. In the light of these passages statements like the following have to be taken: "Mazdāh is in accord with Aša," in 28.8. But Mazdāh knows best the working of the bad principle in the past and even in the future, He ultimately decides between good and bad, 29.4.

It is Mazdāh's realm, constituted through Vohu Manah, for which Zarathuštra asks. This is nothing else but the rule of goodness and virtue, 31.6, and that realm is even to be exalted by Mazdāh Ahura himself, 31.7. Emphatically it is said in 9: "Thine (Mazdāh's) was Ārmaiti," which may be taken as personified piety and devotion. Only two verses later, it is given that Mazdāh Ahura is the author of religious rites. Concerning the importance attached to external forms of religion as a correct manifestation of the true inner spirit, this statement should not be underrated. Mazdāh Ahura's sanctity penetrates these rites, just as his sanctity claims them. It is a matter of course that the decision between right and wrong can only lie with Ahura and Aša, 32.6; Ahura will separate the pious from the wicked, 8. It must have been a source of embarrassment in more than one way, that heretical teaching and doing went on apparently unchecked, as if there were no Zarathuštra to preach, nor a Mazdāh Ahura to shield him and to further his doctrine. Hence Zoroaster's complaint about heretical teachers in 32.9. Such an appeal to him, who had sent Zarathuštra, in a point that touched himself immediately was obvious; but the appeal to Mazdāh in moral matters in general is quite frequent: it is made in 32.13; 33.3; 34.9; 45.11; 46.4, 5, 8, 18.

Sanctity is not an adventitious quality of Ahura Mazdāh, but an essential attribute. For it is settled that those who commit the most wicked deeds should be called favourites of the Daēvas, who swerve from good thinking, and separate themselves from Mazdāh Ahura's will and from the sacred Right, 33.4. Hence also the intrinsic, unvarying opposition to Druj. Wherever a follower of Druj is found he is a standing reproach to Zarathuštra and a mockery to Mazdāh Ahura, as he is a triumph for Druj. For this reason, every follower of Druj has to make a convert, that from one end to the other of the Iranian fold, there may be acknowledged and practised the new doctrine with its purer concept of God and better life of Man, 33.2. It was of paramount importance to Zarathuštra to be fully equipped with a correct knowledge of Mazdāh Ahura, His will and the form of worship by which to approach Him. Thus in 34.12-13, Zarathuštra appears anxious to hear the law, the praise and prayer of Mazdāh Ahura. Evidently, to Zarathuštra, Mazdāh Ahura was the fountain-head of sanctity, as he understood it. In 43.3 Mazdāh Ahura is said to be holy; in the following verse, Mazdāh is holy in his sanction of the moral law; in 5 and 6 Mazdāh's sanctity is found both in creation and sanction. The simple statement about Mazdāh's sanctity is repeated in 48.3.

Clearly, no attribute of Mazdāh Ahura made such an impression on His prophet as sanctity did. This is shown in Yasna 43, where a series of spiritual experiences is given in which Mazdāh's holiness was realised. It seems, this realisation was more of the nature of a conclusion than of a vision, because they all occurred in consequence of some spiritual intercourse, neither directly concerning Mazdāh's holiness, nor in communion face to face with Ahura Mazdāh, but simply as the logical result of some occasions in Zarathuštra's life. For the first time, Mazdāh's

holiness was recognised on the day of Zoroaster's examination by Vohu Manah, the object of which was to find out who and whose he was, 43.7. The second time, Zarathuštra had a special light on the sanctity of Mazdāh, when he was asked for whom he would decide, 9. Less surprising came this experience during the first instruction, 10, or when Vohu Manah enquired after the object of Zarathuštra's desire, 13. For the last time, as far as the Gathic record goes, the sanctity of Mazdāh impressed itself upon Zarathuštra with the same vividness as before when Tušnāmaiti taught him.

. Zarathuštra adduces as a motive for the acceptance of his teaching the sanctity of Mazdāh Ahura, according to which the sanction will be exercised, which is necessary to enforce Mazdāh's will both in favour of the good and in punishment of the evil-doers. In fact, the motive of reward appears rather strongly emphasised in the Gāthās. This is perhaps at the cost of other, higher motives, but probably the strongest motive for Zoroaster's audience, and in any case a motive which the unbending, unalterable will to see good done and bad avoided could not omit. Yasna 31 is remarkably emphatic in bringing home that sanction, beyond which there is no appeal, lies with Mazdāh Ahura: verse 13 has it that sanction comes from Ahura through Aša; verses 14-16 that sanction is enacted by Ahura, similarly 33.13. In 33.11 sanction is imposed by Mazdāh Ahura and other Ahuras. It is the sanction for the virtuous and faithful which is mentioned in 32.1, that speaks of the Joy (Punegar, Bartholomae: Beatitude) of Mazdāh Ahura. By 34.3 an assurance is given that the fruit of the wise is safe with Mazdāh and the Ahuras. Sanction for the good works is mentioned in 51.21, where it is nothing less than the kingdom of Ahura; cp. 53.4. Reward and good teaching are from Mazdāh Ahura, 34.14;

the reward will be meted out through Aša and the Holiest Spirit, Speništa Mainyu, 43.2. Reward is held out in 46.10, and 47.1, where it is specified as prosperity and immortality, cp. 5, 6. At the consummation of things Mazdāh Ahura will see that the good ones do not miss the reward due, as he is to help them, 46.12; for he is an increaser of the kingdom, and Mazdāh's kingdoms contain all rewards, 51.4.

Mazdāh Ahura exercises justice towards the good, the bad, and those who pendulate between both, but are neither wholly, *i.e.*, the undecided ones, 33.1. An elementary rule in spiritual administration is alluded to in 32.8, which makes Mazdāh Ahura separate the pious from the wicked. As a deterrent punishment is threatened to seducers, 32.11. The reward is dependent on the knowledge of Mazdāh Ahura through Aša, 45.8; 51.2 makes the reward simply depend on Mazdāh Ahura, who grants His kingdom to him who fulfils Mazdāh's will, 6, because Mazdāh disposes of fates and rewards through his kingdom, 45.7. By fire, he will distribute the fulfilment of their claims to the two parties, 46.2; since all sanction is through Mazdāh Ahura, and the fire has its strength through Aša, 34.4. The latter clause seems to signify that fire will not burn those who live according to Aša, but will scorch those who despise Mazdāh Ahura's laws and commandments. As in all times, then too, some pious people seemed to have fared badly from a worldly point of view, the wicked ones on the other hand were seen to prosper, hence a sign was necessary for the certainty of the final sanction by fire and molten metal: that sign of confirmation is asked for in 51.9.

A further proof for the personal monotheism of the Gāthās lies in this that they conceive the world, its existence and order as the creation of Mazdāh Ahura, and credit him with the sovereign rule of the universe. This of

course supposes in Mazdāh Omnipotence as the necessary correlate. There is really nothing, not even the highest Ahura or, as will be seen later, even the Principle of Evil, outside the producing and sustaining power of Mazdāh Ahura. Whether 28.7 is rendered so as to attribute royalty (Bartholomae) or Omnipotence (Punegar) to Mazdāh, there is no doubt that the supreme and unlimited power, including that of creation, is ascribed to Mazdāh. The gift of Vohu Manah is from Mazdāh Ahura, 28.8. The destiny of the First Life is put in his hands, 28.11. Mazdāh creates the factors essential for the reform of Zarathuštra on the economical side, soil, the theory, which is implied by "the Word about the Fat", and the practical result, suggested by "the Milk for those who seek Food", 29.7. A fine gradation in Mazdāh Ahura's creative power is seen in 31.7, 8, 10. First, it is said, He planned the spaces and created Aša; then it is clearly stated again, as if to emphasise it, that Mazdāh Ahura created Aša, and it is added that He is the father of Vohu Manah. Moreover He is the lord over the actions of life. Finally, it sounds like a clincher, excluding further discussion, when in 31.10 it is averred that Mazdāh Ahura is the creator of the material and immaterial, the animate and inanimate beings.

Individual instances of the exercise and manifestation of Mazdāh Ahura's creative power are mentioned throughout the Gāthās. He creates the First Individualities, 46.6; at the creation of the First Life he made the plants grow, 48.6. How well Zarathuštra had grasped the nature of Man can be seen from his assertion that Mazdāh Ahura is the creator of the mental power, 50.6. The context seems to suggest that even the Ahuras are comprised in this creative production by Mazdāh, a conclusion which is of course confirmed in direct words as regards the very highest Ahuras. Mazdāh is the creator of

humanity, 50.11. A whole string of products of creation not in a very logical order—is given by 51.7, where kine, water, plants, immortality and prosperity, strength, and lasting existence are enumerated. According to 53.9 Mazdāh Ahura has the power to create the right order. It is evident, Mazdāh Ahura is more than a demiourgos; the universe in its existence and maintenance depends on Mazdāh Ahura, who consequently is omnipresent.

The way in which Mazdāh Ahura is said to dispose of His gifts is a further proof of His personal sovereignty. These gifts are of a material and spiritual nature, belonging to this world and the other. Zarathuštra expects lasting support in his work, 28.6, so that he may find a willing ear with his audience, 7. For all the benefits are distributed by Mazdāh Ahura, 33-10, hence the prayer for gifts, 12, as Mazdāh Ahura not only grants everything, but the grace to attain it as well, 34.1. In fact, all the good comes through Mazdāh Ahura, 34.11. Even a definite grace may be asked for as in 49.8, where a certain reward is expected from Mazdāh Ahura. It illustrates well both the relation between Mazdāh Ahura and Aša and the fact that the former is the source of every gift hoped and asked for, when towards the end of the Gāthic teaching, Aša again is supposed to be obtained through Mazdāh Ahura, 51.17. Not only does Mazdāh possess all the good to make Zarathuštra's followers happy and requite them with an adequate reward, He is quite free in the distribution of his boons so that no other power can interfere with His disposition and execution.

There is no fate either behind Mazdāh Ahura, the giver, or behind his devotee, nor a determination through other people's merits or demerits, which could prevent the free action of Mazdāh Ahura in dealing with man, and bestowing his graces on whomsoever he choses. It is there-

fore a merely rhetorical question when in 34.5 it is asked: "Have Mazdāh Ahura and the Ahuras, Aša and Vohu Manah, the power to protect your poor one who has renounced all other help from men or daēvas? For the answer is given immediately in 6, that they have indeed the power. As He is the most powerful (Bar^tholomae, Punegar: beneficent) Mazdāh Ahura, He has power over the actions of life, 31.8, and he has power over any one threatening ruin to Zarathuštra, 32.16. Zarathuštra wants to know Mazdāh Ahura as a strong one (in his sanction), 43.4 Nobody can force Mazdāh Ahura and Aša to fulfil a wish, 43.13, any more than not to fulfil it, since His, Mazdāh's, is a sovereign power, 14. It will be a small thing for Mazdāh Ahura's power to introduce agriculture, 45.9. Nobody who has followed his law need fear, for Mazdāh Ahura is most powerful to procure the reward due, 46.19, as the end is in His hands, 46.3, and He is powerful enough to put down any one who threatens Zarathuštra ruin, 32.16. Thus Zarathuštra invokes Aša and Mazdāh to come with Ādā to the rescue against Bandva, who always has proved to be the greatest obstacle, 49.1. With confidence Zarathuštra will raise his hands in time of need and distress to Mazdāh Ahura and Aša, in set speech and in free inspired appeal as the heart suggests, 50.8, because the souls of the Aša followers, their faith and other virtues are committed to the care of the very mighty Ahura, 49. 10.

These are the data which the Gāthās contain about the power of Mazdāh Ahura. The idea of creation by Him is expressed with such a remarkable definiteness that creation alone would be a sufficient reason to look upon Ahura Mazdāh as the sole and supreme lord of the universe, the first and final principle to which everything that exists is pointing. The order observed in the universe furnishes ample evidence from nature to form the argument from

Design, which leads a thinking, unbiassed mind from Nature to Nature's God, who according to the very argument from Design must be one. The power of Mazdāh Ahura is no less sovereign in giving graces of a moral and spiritual character, which He distributes according to His will. Finally, the supreme, unhindered, and never ending power directly attributed to Mazdāh Ahura leaves no doubt that Zarathuštra vested Mazdāh Ahura with the attribute of Omnipotence which fits only the One God.

The description of Mazdāh Ahura in the Gāthās gives such attributes both of his nature and action as can only be looked for in one God. The text of the Gāthās therefore contains the proof that Zarathuštra's reform was monotheistic. How could then the wide-spread opinion arise that Zoroastrianism is Dualism? To arrive at a solution of this question it will be necessary, in the first place, to define Dualism. Dualism in the older sense of the term is a philosophical and theological system which assumes two equal but contrary principles as supreme. Both the Principles, whose opposition may be moral or physical, must in Dualism be clad with all the attributes of the highest Principle. This is of course a logical impossibility which we cannot believe to have been overlooked by Zarathuštra. The Gāthā text, as will be shown below, does not warrant the assumption of two absolutely equal Principles, one good and the other bad. From this it follows that it is historically wrong to call Zoroastrianism Dualism, at any rate as far as it is based on the Gāthās.

The nature of Zarathuštra's doctrine about God was well put by Dr. West when he said: "If it be necessary for a dualism that the evil spirit be omnipresent, omniscient, almighty, or eternal, then is the Parsee religion no dualism". To the same effect is Dr. Haug's statement: "A separate evil spirit of equal power with Ahura Mazda, and always oppo-

sed to him, is entirely foreign to Zarathuštra's theology." But the following statement of the same scholar is really unacceptable:—"The opinion so generally entertained now that Zarathuštra was preaching a Dualism, that is to say, the idea of two original independent spirits, one good and the other bad, utterly distinct from each other—is owing to a confusion of his philosophy with his theology." If this means that Zoroaster's philosophy does teach dualism and his theology does not, then Zarathuštra would have to be vindicated from such an inconsistency. For one and the same system of thought cannot logically at one stage propound one view and at another quite a contrary or contradictory view. But if the writer intended to say that the one Supreme Principle is the origin of two Lower or Secondary Principles, opposite in nature and action, the one good and other bad, then Haug's view is to be accepted. But that does not involve an opposition and contradiction between Zoroaster's philosophy and theology, provided they are correctly conceived. Zoroaster's doctrine either is dualistic or is not: a different aspect on the part of the enquirer cannot carry a contradiction into the object itself.

The sources as well as *a priori* evidence are against the assumption of Dualism in Mazdayasnism whether we take it as a system of philosophy or of theology. Mazdāh Ahura is the One Supreme Principle both from a philosophical and theological view; and the antagonism between good and bad is a problem that concerns both philosophy and theology. In fact the whole vexed question whether Zoroastrianism is Monotheism or Dualism is nothing but the question in which way Zarathuštra had explained the presence of Evil, its action and apparent success in the struggle with Good, a problem as undeniable as unpleasant. For there was the alternative between the assumption of an independent Evil First Principle, the same in all as the

equally independent First Good Principle, except its antagonism to the latter, and the assumption of the creation of the Principle of Evil by Mazdāh Ahura or its emanation from him. The latter alternative would safeguard Mazdāh Ahura's sovereignty and absolute independence, but would make Him indirectly responsible for the evil in the world, which seems to go against His sanctity. Yet Zarathuštra decided for this latter alternative, to avoid evidently every suspicion and shade of polytheism.

It is one of the vagaries of the history of learning that Zarathuštra's reform, whose *raison d'être* was the supersession of a degraded polytheism, should for millenniums have been taken as the type of dualism, being in reality the purest, if not the only, form of monotheism in the whole Indo-European family. Besides blind Fate, the *ἀνάγκη* of the Greeks, condemning one to sin and misery, raising the other to virtue and happiness, or Karma, the inexorable law of retribution along an awful series of rebirths, which is the Indian tenet, there was only one other solution of the problem of Evil. That lay on the side of Man, who of his own free will apostatized from Good. Zarathuštra did not hit upon that solution, though it is clearly stated in 47.4 and 49.2, that Druj, Untruth, and Wickedness are due to apostacy from the Holy Spirit or from Aša. Whether Man seemed too small in the eyes of the prophet of Mazdāh Ahura to be made responsible for such a universal, time and space embracing calamity as Evil is, or whether it was the difficulty to find for each atonement and suffering the real culprit, as the wicked under Zarathuštra's eyes prospered and the virtuous suffered, cp. 30.10; 50.3; or whether the psychological factor in man had not sufficiently impressed Zoroaster: he did not look for the solution of the problem of Evil with Man.

A minute inquiry into the way in which Zarathuštra

solved the problem of Evil will furnish the negative proof already arrived at by positive proofs that Mazdāh Ahura is the One and Supreme God taught in the Gāthās. If Mazdāh is the One and Supreme Principle then there is no room for another, and the very words of Zarathuštra as recorded in the Gāthās show that the Principle, being caused by Mazdāh Ahura, does not aspire to a rank equal to His.

" To gain a complete and correct insight into the idea of Evil conceived by Zarathuštra, for fixing its relative position in the doctrinal system, again every bit of evidence has to be culled from the Gathic text. The Existence and Origin, the Activity and the Final Fate of the Principle of Evil has to be examined. If the Gāthās had always and consistently been looked upon as the original and authoritative exposition and record of Zarathuštra's teaching, the question whether his system is monotheistic or dualistic probably never would have arisen. A careful reading will show that the opposition is not so much between Mazdāh Ahura and Ahriman, Aīra Mainyu, as between the latter and Vohu Manah and Aša on the other side, Mazdāh Ahura being above them all. In an indirect manner the Evil Principle is confronted with Mazdāh Ahura in 44.12, where it is said that the associate of Druj, an enemy, is opposed to the interest and gain of Mazdāh Ahura. Moreover Aīra Mainyu in the Gāthās is no more a concrete figure than Aša or Vohu Manah, perhaps less; the concrete opponent of Aša (and Vohu Manah) being Druj. The latter indeed appears as the central of Evil, the organiser of resistance against Zarathuštra and his teaching, who stands for Aša. The followers and associates of Druj, notably the Daēvas, are one camp, as it were, whereas the followers of Aša, so far represented mainly by Zarathuštra and his disciples, are the other. Humanity is thus divided bet-

ween Aša and Druj. The opposition between the two is essential, one cannot become a convert to the other. The hostility is active, so that an incessant and bitter struggle is waged between the two, till Druj with its following succumbs. Of course it is the Aūra Mainyu that lives and acts in Druj, whilst Aša, on the other side, is associated intimately with Vohu Manah.

The existence of an Evil Principle is put beyond doubt by the Gāthās. It should not surprise one that the Evil consists in opposition to Zarathuštra's doctrine, to the faith in Mazdāh Ahura, His sovereignty, wisdom, power, justice, on the theological side, and to the introduction of agriculture and the rearing of cattle from the economical point of view. Thus the Wrong, more especially the Lie and Untruth are represented by, and all but personified in, Druj. Druj indeed is established and resides in heresy to cause ruin. Thus the Soul of Kine complains, 29.1: "Madness oppresses me, and cruelty and ill-treatment and brutality." Yasna 48.7 says that madness and cruelty against Kine, as signs of the Evil Principle, are to be stopped. But Evil seems to have been so widespread that Aša had but the reply: "Men have no notion how just ones treat small and lowly ones," 29.3. A similar strain of despondency is shown in 46.1, remarking that the mighty ones of the country follow Druj. Hence the entreating request: "Hear with your ears the best news, see it with the clear eye of your mind, for the decision between the two beliefs, man for man, each one for himself, looking to the final work (reckoning) beforehand, that it may be accomplished in our favour", 30.2.

The two primeval Spirits, the good and the bad one, revealed themselves in a vision as Twins: they actually are the Better and the Worse in thought, word and deed, 30.3. These two spirits must be held responsible for it

that since the time of creation a knowing as well as an ignorant one lift up their voices and proclaim true and false doctrines, either of them according to his own mind, 31.12. For 45.2 has it: "I (Zarathuštra) shall speak of the two spirits at the beginning of life, of whom the holier spoke thus to the wicked one: 'Neither our thoughts, nor doctrines, nor intentions, nor convictions, nor words, nor works, nor individualities, nor souls, do agree'." And 46.6: "Aša and Druj and their followers were opposed to each other since the creation of the First Individualities." The Daēvas and Grəhma, who is notorious by his many misdeeds, 32.6, have their origin in the Bad Mind, in Untruth and Pride, and so have their infamous deeds, 32.3. Bad Mind is the seducer of the Daēvas, Grəhma is the seducer of the followers of Druj, to ruin them, 32.5. Those that commit the most wicked deeds separate themselves from the Good Thinking, from the Will of Ahura and from the sacred Right; hence they are called favourites of the Daēvas, 32.4. The Daēvas themselves were bad rulers, 44.20. Besides Grəhma, Karpan, Kavay and their dependents adhere to the Evil Principle.

By their teaching the adherents of the Evil Principle turn away men from the best doing; they ruin the life of the kine amongst howls of joy; they are the ruin of this life; their thoughts and powers are directed towards the suppression of Aša; they assist the followers of Druj; their watchword is 'The Cow is to be killed and the old rites are to be restored,' 32.12-15. By their rule Karpan and Kavay get men used to wicked deeds, to destroy the second life, 46.11. A real thorn in the flesh of Zarathuštra was Bəndva against whom—the only time in the Gāthās—Ādā is invoked together with Vohu Manah. It seems that Grəhma was a heretical teacher in the service of Bəndva; of such a one says Yasna 49.2 that he, the associate of

Druj, an apostate from Aša, has for ever so long been in the way of Zarathuštra. Less surprising than characteristic it comes when in 32.8, Yima, the son of Vivahvant, one of the most venerable figures of the R̥gveda, is ranked as a criminal in the Gāthās, because he gave ours meat to eat. This passage brings out both sides of Zoroaster's reform and at the same time shows, to an uncommon degree, how radically the new teaching had broken with the religious views of Indo-Iranian times and the economical system of the pre-Zoroastrian period.

The negative side of the Principle of Evil is shown in the statement that the following of Druj is due to apostasy from the Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, 47.4, or according to 49.2 from Aša. Is this meant as a concrete illustration of the abstract philosophical truth that Evil is nothing positive, but only the want of the right order in the moral sphere of thought, word and deed, as well as in the physical world? Yasna 47.5 shows that the follower of Druj is allied to Aka Manah, the Bad (or Worst) Mind. But Mazdāh Ahura's fire (and Spenta Mainyu) will protect Zarathuštra against the associates of Druj and their onslaughts.

From these passages it becomes clear that all the persons opposed to Zarathuštra, whether human and historical or mythological, were animated by the Evil Spirit, created by Mazdāh Ahura in the beginning. Whatever wicked deeds are perpetrated, they are due to this Evil Spirit, whose most concrete representative is Druj in opposition to Aša. Druj is the embodiment of all that is antagonistic to Truth and Right, the daevic realm of Lie and its organisation. It has to be admitted that, as far as I can see, the Gāthas nowhere in so many words say that Mazdāh Ahura created the Evil Spirit or Principle. This was due probably to the fact that it appeared to Zarathuštra consonant with the lofty notion he had formed

for himself and taught to others of Ahura Mazdāh to make Him as creator the indirect cause of Evil; it seemed sufficient to leave it to inference, which leads to Mazdāh Ahura as the creator of both the good and the bad Spirit, since he is the creator of all beings.

The programme which the good and the bad Spirit had set themselves is given in 30.4. When these two Spirits met they settled first Life and Not-life, *i.e.*, destruction, and then that at the end of things the associate of Druj should be awarded the worst existence, but the follower of Aša the best dwelling place. Thus puts Zarathuštra the world's history, both physical and moral, and gives its interpretation as a struggle between the two primeval Spirits, a struggle which in spite of its riddles of justice and apparent injustice, will end in the victory of Good and the downfall and condemnation of Bad. All that is said in the Gāthās about the Evil Spirit and its associates, be they Druj or the Daēvas with Aəšma at their head, whether prominent in the defence and practice of the principle of Evil as Bəndva, or merely following the crowd, whether they become guilty of hostility to Zoroaster's economical proposals or his moral teaching: all this is merely a variation of the grand theme proposed in 30.4. Thus 28.5 speaks of the robbing rabble to be converted by the promise held out to the good life. Plans to fight good principles as well as persons were hatched and carried out by Daēvas and (wicked) men in past and future, 29.5.

The followers of Druj are blood-thirsty, 48.11, which seems to indicate that the antagonism did not stop at words, but was, at least at times, one of life and death, for which, in addition, the Gathic text in 53.8 gives unmistakable evidence. Nothing less than ruin was threatening the agriculturist and friend of the cattle from the followers of Druj, 29.5, because they themselves have chosen the deeds of the most wicked, 30.5, and as the very presence of Zoroaster was a

reproach to them. The Daēvas naturally enough have ranked themselves among the associates of Druj by adopting wicked principles and by choosing bad deeds. As delusion got hold of them whilst they were deliberating, they join Aosma through whom they make people ill, 30.6. They rob men of the good life and immortality, 32.5. The greater the zeal and activity of the new teacher was, the more did the adherents of the old faith and order feel provoked and inclined to retaliate, since Zarathuštra's words are unpleasant to the followers of Druj, who ruin as best they can the cause of Aša, 31.1. The followers of Druj are evil-minded towards all that are, 51.10; no wonder then that they ill treat the convert to the new belief, 46.5. The viciousness of Druj is shown by this that its follower, the heretic, will destroy the second life, 45.1. The evil, of which Karpan and Kavay are guilty, is spreading and becomes habitual, for by their rule they accustom men to wicked deeds to destroy the second life for themselves and others, 46.11.

The details of the activities of the Evil Principle show what points were the objects of dispute, characterising thus both the tenets; they too prove how relentless a fight to tooth and nail was going on under the eyes of Zarathuštra. The heretic, says Yasna 32, thwarts the (holy) words and he foils the plan of life with his doctrines. He takes away the possession of the Good Mind, 9. He is thwarting the (holy) words, who speaks of the kine' and the sun as the most evil of whatever may be beheld with eyes, who turns the prudent ones into associates of Druj, who devastates the pastures and lifts up the weapon against the followers of Aša, 10. It is the followers of Druj who destroy life, who are bent upon cheating the husbands and wives out of the acquisition of the inheritance by enticing the followers of Aša away from the Good Mind, 11. By their doctrines they turn away men from the best deeds,

they destroy the life of the kine amidst shouts of joy, they prefer to Aša, Grēhma and his followers, Karpan and the rule of those who favour Druj, 12. "They are the ruin of this life," is an often repeated allegation.

Grēhma and the Kavays direct their mind and energies towards the oppression of Zarathuštra to prevent the new doctrine of the protection of the kine and restore the old religion, in which Soma played an important part, 14. The followers of Druj behave brutally against those who were dear and near to Zarathuštra, 16. The associates of Druj cannot stand it that the furtherers of Aša make the kine prosper in district and country, the Druj being one of ill reputation and obnoxious through his deeds. There was indeed not only personal danger threatening to Zarathuštra, his house and home were exposed to being robbed and perhaps destroyed and the inmates brutally treated, for Zarathuštra prays in 46.8 that no harm might come to him from such violence, and that all the violent deeds planned might recoil on their author to harden him in his wickedness. Impatiently, as it seems, Zarathuštra asks Mazdāh "when will you hit the abomination of the intoxicating drink, by which the Karpans maliciously and the bad rulers intentionally cheat?" 48.10.

Zarathuštra's sermon assumes the form of an excommunication and curse in 49.4: "Away into the house of the Daēvas, away into the house of the followers of Druj, with those who by their tongues increase madness and cruelty, the enemies of cattle-rearing among their friends, in whom not the good deeds but the wicked ones preponderate. The inhuman behaviour of Bəndva (?) has to be laid to the charge of the Evil Principle. Yasna 51.12 relates of Kavay that at Winter's Door he did not try to help Zarathuštra Spitama, refusing shelter, first to him and then also to his draft animals when they arrived at his place, though

the beasts were shivering with cold. The Karpans are no more willing to submit to the rules and regulations of agriculture than Kavay and his people either. They even inflict harm on the kine, 14. Making the necessary allowance for rhetorical exaggeration in the Gathic sermons, and discounting a certain bias which possibly made the zealous an impassionate reformer overlook good traits in his opponents: what remains fully justifies the view that not only from a theological and economical point, Zoroaster's reform meant an improvement, but in a humanitarian and social respect as well.

It was but natural that Zarathuštra considered himself the doctrinal antagonist to the representatives of the Principle of Evil in whatever form it might show itself, and that he acted as the defender of the new faith, ordained and constituted as he deemed himself to be by Mazdāh Ahura. Zarathuštra's opposition was by no means a doctrinal one only, however, as he acted on the principle of tooth for tooth, even life for life. When the time of grace has passed, the opponents will clamour in vain for the new teaching: when Grēhma and the destroyers of this life have brought themselves into the plight which they amply deserve, Zarathuštra will prevent them to see Aša, 32.13. The (leading) followers of Druj are to be injured in thought, word and deed; they that only move with the crowd are to be converted, 33.2. As soon as Zarathuštra is assured of Mazdāh Ahura's support, he will rise to attack the blasphemers of Mazdāh's doctrine, he with all those who are mindful of Mazdāh Ahura's words, 43.14. The holy Daēna of the helper, the ruling lord, will be a friend, brother or father only to him, who despises the Daēvas as well as those who condemn the Judge, all the others, except him who is devoted to the Judge, 45.11. This is another way of saying that the unbeliever and opponent of Zarathuštra will be outside the fold in the first and second life. He who deprives the

objectionable associate of Druj of his rule or even of his life, shall progressing prepare the paths of the right doctrine, 46.5, again an indirect order addressed to Vistāsra to attack an unbelieving prince.

No matter what political or social position one may occupy, he is roused and pressed into opposition to the followers of Druj; the big and the small alike are recruited against Druj and its associates, 47.4. Man is either for Mazdah Ahura or against him; in the attitude towards him and the Evil One no neutrality is possible, as those who fulfil their duty by observing Mazdāh's command are the "created", *i.e.* destined oppressors of Aēsma, 48.12. To what extremes Zarathuštra saw himself brought, the very last two verses of the Gāthās have recorded. There the stern voice of retributive justice is heard, meting out the full measure of requital to the opponent, calling upon the temporal power of good rulers of this world as well as upon the omnipotence of the Greatest and Highest to inflict the deserved penalty. "They whose doings are evil shall be cheated ones, and given over to ruin they shall cry out. Through good rulers he shall bring about murder and bloodshed among them, and thus give peace and safety from them to the happy villages. Torments shall bring upon them He who is the Greatest together with the fetter of death." 53.8. It seems that either the patience of Zarathuštra had reached its end or the danger had risen to a climax, and it was a question of either the Good or the Bad Mind, either Zarathuštra or Bəndva, either Aša or Druj, for the prophet adds:—"And let it be soon!" Less confident of a quick decision, but not less confident sounds the question in 9: "Where is the Lord of Judgment guarding Right, who is to deprive of life and liberty those, who are out to disparage the worthy ones, the despisers of the holy Right, who have forfeited their body?"

For deciding whether the reform of Zarathuštra really was Dualism, at least at the beginning and at that stage of the doctrine at which we must assume that it was preached by the reformer, the question of the final end of the Evil Principle is of the greatest importance. It may be that Ahura Mazdāh according to the new doctrine even created the Evil Mind, which is the solution of the problem of Evil actually chosen by Zarathuštra. It would have been going against the evidence of every day in private life and of whole periods in history, if he had denied the bitter struggle between good and bad so constantly and universally waged and fought with such varied weapons that only a principle approaching a concrete personality could be made responsible for the endless strife. The odds were at times so great and in favour of Evil that even a stout heart like that of Zarathuštra began to sink, and it was but natural that subsequent ages attributed a nature and powers to the Principle of Evil almost equal to that of Ahura Mazdāh.

If only the evidence from the Gāthās had been consulted the view of real dualism in Zoroaster's reform could never have arisen. Because, in addition to the fact that the Evil Spirit owes his existence to Mazdāh Ahura, who is his creator, he will at the end and for good be doomed and condemned without appeal or a chance to continue life and mischief in some other form of existence. He does not even attempt a revolt, in his followers he collapses in despair and he will not be granted a respite sufficient for conversion. He and his followers of all ages and ranks, however strongly backed up by political power and social position, are all relegated to a life of unending misery. Such a finale of the battle both in every man's head and heart and on the stage of history could impossibly be foretold, if the Bad Principle were as supreme, independent, omnipotent, eternal both from the beginning and unto the end, as Mazdāh Ahura is stated to be. Nothing in the realm of

Evil is lasting, not even worldly prosperity. It is true that in moments of despondency Zarathuštra often asks: "Shall I succeed or succumb!" and at least once puts the anxious question: "Which of the battling armies will be victorious when they meet?" 44.15. But unless we have to give up Zoroaster's personality, works and words as described by the Gāthās, this question has to be taken as a merely rhetorical one.¹

It is as easy to excuse as to understand the impatience which lurks behind the query whether the victory of the follower of Aša over that of Druj will take place before the final retribution, 48.2. The fact is in no way doubted. It may have been more for the sake of his disciples than his own, when in Yasna 51.9, Zarathuštra demanded a sign, *viz.*, the ruin of the associate of Druj, for the evil end of the wicked. The broad fact that the Gāthās suppose and preach the victory of the Good Spirit and the defeat of the Evil One is beyond doubt. Perhaps no tenet of the whole Mazdayasnian system has been asserted so unmistakingly and repeated so untiringly as the final and absolute victory of Good and the sole unassailed reign of Mazdāh Ahura in the Second Life, *i.e.*, the existence after death. This thought was so fully present to the mind of Zarathuštra and comprised every detail to such an extent that no development of it is discernible in the Gāthās. A very concrete description of the fate of the wicked is given at the beginning of the sermons and at the end, where also the simple threat of the woe finally overtaking the associates of Druj is uttered, 51.8.

1 Careful and methodical criticism proves that Zoroastrianism is Monotheism. An inaccurate use for the name of Mazdāh Ahura for Spenta Mainyu by later commentators of the Avesta has perhaps given to the view to Zoroaster's doctrine being Dualism. See on this Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, *Religious System of the Parsees*. Bombay 1903; an interpretation confirmed orally lately by him.

Perhaps the objection might be raised that, owing to the emphasis of reward held out to the good and the punishment threatened to the wicked, Zarathuštra's reform is of a mercenary character and built upon egoistic motives, there being hardly any appeal to altruistic grounds. This would put Zoroastrian ethics on a lower level than those of the Bhagavadgītā, for instance, provided the Nişkāmaka Karma, that is, the Disinterested Action, is the, or at least one of the, leading ideas of the episode of the Mahābhārata. But no taint attaches to Zarathuštra's teaching on that score. In the first place the statements of the Gāthās are not doctrinal pronouncements uttered leisurely from a chair or carefully developed in lengthy dialogue, but the words of a preacher who to win over his audience had to appeal to motives that lay nearest their hearts. He had not to deal with an interlocutor who intellectually and morally was one of the best of his people, look upon as a national ideal, but with an audience of a very promiscuous nature. In fact it is recorded that just the mighty ones and the upper classes were averse to the new teaching. Beyond his own family circle, Zarathuštra had a very thin following, the opponents mentioned on the other hand were neither small in number nor of a lowly station in life, and their attitude was one of active and determined opposition.

Even if Zarathuštra had not said so, it would not have been a great slander to assume that mainly material considerations were at the basis of his opponents resistance. The only argument to be used there was the transitory character of the prosperity of associate of Druj and his woeful fate in the other world. With Zarathuštra's audience the terrible awakening at the Cinvat Bridge, the testing of one's moral worth by molten metal and the treatment with stinking food was apparently the strongest, if not the only, motive that would go down, not so much out of conviction as out of fear.

It was reserved for later stages to expound the social advantages of the new teaching and to point out the higher intellectual and moral plane on which it stood. The way in which the greatest teacher of Iran proposed his message does not show the inferiority of the religious system taught, but the methodical skill of the exponent. Zarathuštra, like all those who had a lasting influence for the better on their surrounding, was a good pedagogue. In the stress laid on retribution, the reform breathes the spirit of Semitic religious views. Whether the result of contact with original semitic ideas or Zoroaster's own conception prompted by a conscious opposition to pre-reform decadent Indo Iranian ideals, only a new inquiry can decide.

The eschatological ideas of the Gāthās naturally are concerned with the victory of Aša, *i.e.*, of Justice and Truth over Druj and the Bad Mind, Injustice and Untruth, in the final judgment, and the sanction put for ever on the judgment by handing over the Evil Principle and its followers to everlasting torments. Now Druj will be overcome through the increase of the Kingdom of the Ahuras, 31.4. Druj will actually be delivered to Aša, which is to cause ruin and torments and hatred to the Druj followers, 44. 14. At the retributions Aša will conquer Druj, 48.1. The text seems to leave it open whether a formal final encounter will seal the fate of the Good and Bad Spirit, or whether the mere working of the effects of either will decide the downfall of the wicked one and the victory of the good one. The meeting of the two battling armies may be the symbolic expression of moral and immaterial occurrences. Druj and all that it implies will suffer defeat by being declared to be the Fiend of Man, and his Satan, the opponent of Mazdāh Ahura who allowed it to do the Enemy's work among Men to tempt them whether they chose to adhere rather to Druj than to Aša, and to organise a whole world of wickedness set against the kingdom of Mazdāh Ahura.

But at the Judgment, the happiness of the world of Druj will be destroyed for good and ever so that no chance of a revival is left. It is clearly asserted that the follower of Druj will be expropriated of his home which will be given to the follower of the Good principle, 50.3; and whatever prosperity may now be found with the devotee of Druj, he will be divested of it, 53.6, at least at the final reckoning. The Karpanship and the Kavay Clan are doomed to ruin just by those whom they did not allow to govern their lives as they listed; worldly prosperity which prevented them from accepting the reform will thus be taken from them, and their portion will be poverty and helplessness. Merely to rouse interest and fix the intention of the hearers Zarathuštra asks in 31.14: "What will be the settlement of the debts of Druj?" and in the following verse: "What is the punishment for the associates of the follower of Druj and of the violent non-agriculturist?" So much is certain, the follower of Druj will ruin besides himself his whole house, his own kith and kin, he will lose goods and chattels, he will do harm even to the village, nay the curse upon him will spread to the whole district and drag it into his personal ruin and, as much as it depends upon him, he will cause the downfall of the whole country and people, 31.18.

It is one of the worst consequences of having kept stubbornly outside Zarathuštra's fold that the unbeliever is punished with hard-heartedness, for evil deeds will keep the evil-doer from a good life, in other words, make him incapable of turning towards good and practise it, 46.8. It sounds like commonpalee when in 51.8 an end in woe is threatened to the associate of Druj. Out of his sovereignty, without any regard whatsoever to the Evil Spirit and his associates of any rank, Mazdāh Ahura himself will apportion the good fate to the good, and the bad fate to the bad, 43.5. It will be just through the Holy

Spirit that Mazdāh Ahura will distribute the claims of the two parties among them assisted by Aša and Ārmaiti, 47.6. At the behest of Mazdāh Ahura, too, Sraoša and Aši will award loss and hurt to the bad party, 43.12. A superlative, for which Zarathuštra may have had other reasons beside his own bitter experiences, is used in the passage 51.6, in which he assures his hearers that Mazdāh Ahura will award worse than the worst to the disobedient. The threat sounds as if based on a definite promise from Ahura Mazdāh. There will be a final separation between Good and Bad at the end, each destined to meet its reward, 49.9. Or "should indeed against thy will the follower of Druj, who in his doings is one with Aka Manah, have part in all the best which through this Holy Spirit, oh Mazdāh Ahura, thou hast promised to the follower of Aša?" 47.5. No, of a truth not, because the heretic will be far from the mansion of Aša: Aša avoids them as wild animals shun men, 34.8.

There is no trace in all this of an appeal by Aūra Mainyu or any other representative of Evil, or of however so faint a remonstrance: Evil has played the game to an end and is to meet its unavoidable fate in just and severe punishment. No attempt is to be seen anywhere to baulk the sovereign power of Mazdāh Ahura in allotting Bliss to the Good and Curse to the Bad.

It cannot be denied that the description of the reward of Good in the Gāthās is rather abstract and jejune, as compared with that of Bad. Besides being with Aša in the realms of Mazdāh Ahura, there is hardly any concrete expression for the happiness awarded to the faithful and virtuous whilst fire and molten metal are introduced, to be taken either literally or as a vivid illustration and symbol for the excruciating, all-penetrating pain-racking body and soul of the damned. The Judgment in the Gāthās is a

private and a public, general one. The private Judgment is indicated by the subjective mental condition of the wicked at their arrival at the Chinvat Bridge to which the good ones can look forward with confidence. It is the condemnation by their own bad conscience alone, which makes the lost sinners tremble when they see the risk in crossing the bridge, that will for all eternity decide between Heaven and Hell. The Karpans and Kavays, followers of Druj, will experience anguish of the soul and of the I at the Chinvat Bridge, 51.13.

Numerous are the passages in the Gāthās which either directly mention or imply the general and final judgment of the Principle of Evil and its adherents. Both the various stages and the unalterable result of this trial are given. The bad gain is known through the glowing metal. Mazdāh Ahura knows best the result and end of wicked deeds, 32.7. Zarathuštra desires that the fire may bring comfort to the faithful one, but torments to the enemy according to the hints of Ahura Mazdāh, 34.4. The reward for both parties will be prepared by Mazdāh Ahura, the Holy Spirit and through Fire, 31.3. "Those who are under bad rule, whose deeds, speech and thought, and whose I are bad, the associates of Druj, the (formerly departed) souls will meet with bad food, they are the proper inmates of the house of Druj." 49.11. Cp. 31.20. To him who cries woe! bad food will be offered; paradise will be lost to the followers of Druj, despising Right. "In this way you destroy the spiritual life", warns Zarathuštra in 53.6.

Bliss will be the share of the faithful there, where the spirit of the followers of Druj will be given over to destruction, though they try and sneak away to hide. "But if you separate from the covenant, woe will be your word at the consummation of things", is the renewed warning in 53.7. "Therefore, they whose doing is bad, let them be

the cheated ones, let them all cry out, given over to perdition", 8. The place of corruption is the misbeliever's, 9. Those who increase madness and cruelty are to go to the Daēvas' house, the house for the associates of Druj, 49.4. Zarathuštra prays in 51.14: "For the harm to the kine which they do, execute on account of their words and deeds, the verdict which is to take them to the house of Druj at the end of things." Yasna 30.11 unflinchingly says almost at the beginning of the Gathic preaching that torments and eternal ruin are the end of the follower of Druj. Solemnly declares the text 45.7: "The torments of the followers of Druj will be everlasting; both bliss and condemnation will be decreed and executed through his realm by Mazdāh Ahura, who disposes of loss and gain of all that live, that were and will be.

B. GOD IN THE RIGVEDA

To write a theology of the Rgveda, in the sense as one could write a theology of the Old Testament or even of the Avesta, seems to be a difficult, if not impossible, task. Taking theology to be the science of God, it is this very notion of theology which makes an adequate exposition of it in the Rgveda an arduous undertaking. Even if we accept the term God in its abstract sense, as the First Principle of all Being and Movement, we appear to be left without any clear evidence on many questions about God by the Rksamhitā. Not only has the metaphysical basis for the deity in the RV. to be unearthed, but the ideas of the Vedic poets, corresponding to the notion of God as a First Principle, have for the greater part to be arrived at by logical conclusions; direct statements are comparatively rare.

Nor does the difficulty end with the scarcity of metaphysical data. In the main, the RV. is the expression through the spoken word of religious ideas. These ideas

occupied the minds of the leading classes of the Aryas both in times of national and personal danger and of peace and leisure. The imagery of the R̥V. was rich and deep enough to serve as a symbol for abstract ideas; the language was as good an instrument for conveying higher thought, as any poet and thinker could wish for; and in spite of the dominant monotony of the hymns of the extant Samhitā, dealing with theological ideas, still the minds of the Uṣas and Varuṇa hymns was fertile and original enough to vest the deity with a garb which would give a fairly concrete idea of the First Principle. But there a cruel disappointment awaits the inquirer into the nature and appearance of God in the R̥V. That the deity should appear as Man of larger proportions seems obvious: the Superman must have been the nearest concrete expression for the ideas about the over-lord, creator and protector of a war-faring race. For centuries, the invading Āryas were exposed to the vicissitudes of a life of exploration of strange lands and the risks of a struggle with autochthonous peoples, perhaps inferior in means of defence, but probably equal, if not superior, in numbers to fight the invaders. That anthropomorphism is not the only way of representing the deity in a concrete form and that theriomorphism is not an altogether rare case in the R̥V. may just be mentioned.

It is idle to look in the R̥V. for one absolutely supreme, personal head of all the beings, celestial and non-celestial, that could be considered as the First Principle of all other Being and Movement. Not a single figure of the mythology of the R̥V. stands within measurable distance from that position. The nature of the physically and metaphysically supreme Principle has been split up and its functions divided. It would now be a comparatively easy task to make all the attributes and functions of the sharers in the division converge back upon one point, if no further develop-

ment had set in after the partition. If only a division of the One into Many had taken place, attributes and functions could simply be added and the sum total would represent the nature and activity of the Supreme and Final Principle. But with a good many figures of the Vedic pantheon, a distressing uncertainty prevails as to their actual and original nature; their relative position is neither clear nor steady, and their functions are often overlapping. To arrive at a comprehensive and, at the same time, homogeneous idea of the deity in the RV., elimination besides addition has to be used. Though it may be desirable to try to give a correct idea of the deity in the RV. by putting the scattered facts together, so as to form some sort at least of theology of the oldest literary document of the Indo-European family of peoples and languages, the task is beset with great difficulties. Needless to say, no ancient or medieval author has attempted it, though it was felt and pointed out rather than solved by such an early writer as Yāska. Even modern standard writers on Vedic religion are generally satisfied with a description of the individual figures of the mythology; a great deal of time, talent and energy has been spent, time on questions of origin and identity without an attempt at reaching the higher unity behind plurality.

The first questions about God in the RV., to be solved, are whether, in spite of the difficulties, a starting point of evolution in the Vedic belief in God is to be found in the Samhitā itself; whether the evolution started from the One of the Many; whether the mythological figures, as the RV. represents them, can be co-ordinated and subordinated into a satisfactory mythological system, so as to represent a consistent idea of God, or whether these figures and their functions, taken together, cannot be considered as the adequate representation of the idea of God with which the

Vedic Āryas are to be credited, and, finally, what the nature and the properties of the highest Being in their mind was.

It may not be superfluous to state here that ethnography and the history of human thought, religious thought in particular, does not prove an invariable start from, the imperfect and lower and a development and rise to the perfect and higher. In fact there are scholars who maintain that the evolution started from the perfect and moved towards the less perfect, that there was at times a drop from the higher to the lower. Whether, in early Vedic, times, the development of the theological notion was from the higher to the lower, from the One to the Many, or *vice versa*, naturally has to be decided on the evidence from the documents. If it is shown that polytheism is not the starting point, but rather refers back to monotheism, then such a conclusion will not be contradicted by the general history of culture and the history of religion in particular.

The *prima facie* impression is that the RV. is polytheistic. Still, on closer examination, it will be found that the Vedic hymns do not contain a consistent polytheism. The deities are not self-contained, many are not fully developed, in some there is a suprising want of proportion. The Vedic pantheon lacks constitution and organisation; rather many figures are paired; there is no supreme head constituted on the strength of its nature and activity. The head may be chosen for a certain occasion or purpose, but no individual god can be shown to have been the sovereign for the whole time of Aryan worship. Exaggerated praises may be addressed to a certain deity, but they are stultified by the same praises being offered to some rival deity. As the description of the figure of many deities is defective, so in given traits it often overlaps. Overlapping in activity is rather common. The relation of the gods towards the physical world is more one of demiourgos than one of creator. Very few figures o

the Vedic pantheon are concerned with the moral law and its observation by man.

Neither individually, nor as a class, the Vedic deities exhaust the idea of the First principle, such as peoples of less culture than the Vedic Āryas are commonly observed to possess. It is then but natural that the poets of the sūktas put the gods under the control of one common and therefore higher principle, or make them at least work in harmony with it. None of the gods is found to be above it. This common and higher principle is Rta, Truth. It is nowhere stated in the hymns that Rta is the Highest and First Principle of Being and Movement, but as Rta is not subordinated to another, it must be considered as such. The gods are the agents behind whom Rta stands; Rta supplements deficiencies of individual gods and of the whole pantheon; on Rta converge all the personalities and their functions. This holds good of the oldest parts of the R̥V. Samhitā as much, if not more, than of the younger parts.

As early as the time when the family books were composed, doubts about the suzerainty, if not existence, of Indra, the temporarily highest god, were expressed. These doubts consolidated into a definite and positive statement in the tenth maṇḍala where as the First Principle of Existence and Evolution (Movement) Sat, The Being, was proclaimed. Both the negation of the Many and the assertion of the One is stated with an unmistakable clearness in the first maṇḍala as well. The monotheistic strain of the R̥V. Samhitā was not overlooked by Sāyaṇa who saw clear indications of monotheism in the sūktas. During the time of the Brāhmaṇas the Yajna, Sacrifice, was endowed with such importance and might that the sacrificial and ritual principle took the place of the old gods who were made to depend on it. The philosophically highest principle was, for the time being, immer-

ged in the sacrificial technique. Philosophical speculations, however, were not extinct, nor can it be said they were tabooed by all who wrote on Vedic matters or practised Vedic rites, since some of the most important Upaniṣads were incorporated in Brahmanical books or tagged on to them.

The predominant theological thought of the Upaniṣads is monotheistic: they propound an unqualified monotheism, either straight off or after some hesitation in the opening chapters. The hesitation may have been due either to wavering between the new thought and the old, or, on account of practical reasons, to a compromising tendency, or finally is an involuntary illustration of the labour it cost the Upaniṣad thinkers, as a class, to arrive at new and, as they certainly thought, more satisfactory solutions of the philosophical and theological problems, which never seem to have been entirely absent from the mind of the ancient Āryas. The fact remains that the Upaniṣads, the lineal heirs of the Rv. Saṁhitā, contain monotheistic belief expressed in formulas unsurpassed for their accuracy and pithiness. The physical and metaphysical First Principle, apparently split up in the Vedic hymns again appears once more as one and homogeneous in the Upaniṣads. Even the moral Principle has been unified in Karma and its correlative, the Samsāra. Though polytheism had in the Purāṇas exponents not fettered generally by speculation based on facts, still the main, at any rate the most important current of ancient Indian, thought, seems to be monotheistic; the polytheism of the Vedic hymns, caused by special circumstances, appears as a temporary aberration. That aberration however lasted probably from one to two millenniums.

Th judge from the evidence extant, the Vedic Āryas must have conceived God as a rational but bodily Being. This is true, even if we admit that the individual members

of the pantheon were but hypostatised physical powers and phenomena. As long as the godhead could be clothed with a body, this was done according to the function attributed to it. If no particular trait suggested a definite bodily shape, then the description stops short. Instances are Indra and Rta, respectively. In fact, the distinction between spirit and matter, soul and body, does not seem to have struck very forcibly a people, who were absorbed in the struggle for life. But even later hymns, composed probably in greater national leisure, do not bring out so much the difference between material and immaterial as that between concrete and abstract. Of the perfections, which a well developed theology finds in the nature of God, some are bound to be absent in the godhead of the RV., others are distributed among the various members of the Vedic Olympus. The assumption that God must exist by himself and cannot owe his being to any one else is implicitly made in this, that Rta is not made to depend on any other higher or more universal Principle. There is however no positive statement to the effect that Rta, being the One behind the Many, is self-dependent. It is true that the term स्वयम्भुव् self-dependent, is freely used in connection with deities, but as it is applied to many gods, it amounts to nothing more than a complimentary, stereotyped attribute. Yet the emphasis with which it is applied to Varuṇa may be of special significance for the relation of Varuṇa to Rta, the First and common principle of Vedic mythology. It would be idle to look for a developed personality with clearly defined traits in the RV; Rta, the only figure in the Sāmhitā, which can be considered as a universal and first cause and governor, is too much of an abstraction to allow room for personality. Needless to say that other properties of a monotheistic and personal godhead, such as simplicity and infinity, are ruled out of court in a theology of the Veda, and that others, immutability or eternity, for instance, can be looked for there only in a very qualified sense.

In a restricted signification, too, have the attributes of action in God in the R̥V. to be accepted. It is, in the first place, obvious that the deity in the R̥V. is not endowed with either power or action of intellect beyond a degree suitable to a Superman. The same applies to the will of the Vedic gods in general. As for individuals in the pantheon, Varuṇa again seems to be the god in whom most knowledge is centred. True, his knowledge is mainly concerned with good and bad, apparent in the doings of man. The comprehension and intensity of the knowledge in Varuṇa is symbolised by his Spies, खश and द्रुह, at the commandment of the god. Again it is remarkable that Varuṇa's knowledge appears more in the service of avenging punishment than of reward. Pūṣan knows, above all, good, safe ways, he follows with his mind's eye cattle strayed away, and is implored to bring it back. Agni, as the हव्यहवन्, some kind of mediator between man and the gods, knows both the earthly and the celestial regions; he is, of course, an expert in his profession as a sacrificial priest. Both Varuṇa and Mitra "look down on herds, as it were, from the lofty sky, they, full of R̥ta, the all-lords, set for worship. Better pathfinders indeed than the Eye, with unhindered sight, even when winking perceiving they perceive". Mitra, in his close relation to the Sun, the eye of both Mitra and Varuṇa, watches over friendships and guards contracts. The Aśvina have knowledge of people in distress and display a good deal of practical sense in rescuing them. The R̥bhus are the skilled artisans of the gods. The later deity of Wisdom, Sarasvatī, is a mere stream in the R̥V. The eagle boasts that he knows the generations of the gods. Saramā, the bitch, shows an uncommon amount of shrewdness and fixity of purpose in the discovery of the kine hidden away by the Paṇis.

It is clear that the knowledge of the Vedic gods extends in the first instance over the range of their jurisdiction, and

that its objects are chiefly material, ritual, and moral. Indra's interests are too well known to be repeated here; the R̥bhus show artistic knowledge and talent; Agni is most conversant with the sacrifice and its purpose; Mitra sees to truthfulness and faithfulness in particular, as Varuṇa has an eye on right and wrong in general. None of the gods is all-knowing as none of them is all-present. If omniscience is attributed to any of them, it is either a mere compliment made for a special purpose, or it is restricted through the context. But it is not so clear from the Sāmhitā text whether the Vedic poets ever intended to invest all the gods, taken together, with omniscience, though it is said that the gods never close their eyes, and that they rule the world in wisdom and have knowledge of all that stands and moves. If ever there was a being, whose knowledge in the mind of the Aryan worshipper may have approached all-knowingness, it was Dyauspitṛ. But this is true only of the Indo-Iranian, not the Vedic, Dyauspitṛ.

The will of the deity in the RV. is manifested by the generally kind attitude of the gods towards man. They are bright, not only in their physical appearance, but through a cheerful disposition of mind as well, in the same degree as the राक्षस, the demons, shun the light and are ill-disposed. The general and close connection of the gods with R̥ta makes them share in all that R̥ta connotes: truth, harmony in the macrocosm, and the right order in man, the microcosm, the proper procedure in cult, the sacrifice in particular. On the whole, the gods stand for what notion of goodness and sanctity, right and order are traceable in the RV. Equivalents for good and its contrary सधु are straight and crooked, ऋजु and वृजिन.

Both the terminology for good and bad and the relation of the individual gods to R̥ta put it beyond doubt that that

is good which is according to *Rta*, and that is bad which is against *Rta*. *Rta* then may be considered as the highest principle of rectitude in the *RV.* or, in terms of personal monotheism, as the supreme will, the conformity with which is Right and Virtue, the opposition to which is Wrong and Sin. But as the personal character of *Rta* is so little developed it would be hazardous to say that in *Rta* itself there is a free will. All that can be stated with certainty is that there is no exterior limitation to the freedom of *Rta*, there being no higher principle than *Rta*. But whether there is no internal, natural direction and determination in one way, so that no other could be chosen, is more than the text of the *Samhitā* warrants to decide. The question becomes the more difficult, the less the hymns show *Rta* otherwise but as principle of the right order, both intellectually and morally, consequently always as working for good.

Exercising their power, the Vedic gods divide the universe among themselves, each of them ruling within his sphere of jurisdiction. It is obvious that these spheres, as the mythological figures themselves, are overlapping at times. The power of every Vedic god cannot, consequently, be said to be absolute even in his own domain. Yet, barring necessary restrictions, the gods, especially the major ones, rule in heaven, like *Varuṇa*, in midspace, as *Indra*, or, *Agni*, on earth. The individual limitations are clearly shown in the alliances sought and concluded either temporarily or for good. Cp. the *Indra-Vṛtra* fight in which all the available forces of the *devas* were arrayed on *Indra's* side. It is this clubbing together for common purpose which made on the Vedic worshipper, at all times, the impression of the unicity of the godhead, and which in a comparatively late passage found expression in the pretty comparison: The cars are many, but the road is one.

The gods exercise their power for the benefit of man:

their protection ranges from the assuring presence and kindly assistance of Agni as a house-friend and brother, to the military alliance and leadership, specially Indra's, which brings victory to the pious Āryas in their struggle for life and against the godless aborigines. Health and wealth are bestowed by the gods; Varuna has power to loosen the fetters, which sin has thrown round the evil-doer. These fetters, actually physical illness, symbolise the moral bondage into which the sinner has cast himself, and out of which only repentance on his part and the forgiving grace of Varuna will lead him. Thus there are Vedic gods holding sway over the physical and the moral world.

The rule of the gods is not sovereign, not even in their own spheres, in which they depend upon Vrata. Vrata, already in Vedic language, means both realm, sphere of jurisdiction and course, rule. It seems generally to signify the rule and law of individual gods, in some cases apparently said to have been laid down by themselves, certainly observed by all of them. Rta, on the other hand, would signify the general norm which the god follows in his own respective and individual Vrata. Vrata would generally discriminate one god from the other; through Rta they are linked together. Through this common bond of Rta the gods could amalgamate and be identified; with Rta even interdependence and mutual generation do not seem such an absurdity as with self-contained individuals. If Henotheism could be accepted, Rta together with the general notion of the godhead might be used for an explanation, though not a proof. Here again the sum total of the power of all the gods is far from amounting to omnipotence. At no time of the Rgveda was there a being explicitly credited with omnipotence, not even for a short time. The most comprehensive power is exercised by Rta, which is at least negatively omnipotent, as there is no other power superior or equal to it.

The concrete figure of many of the Vedic gods suggests that the authors of the hymns claim to have seen the objects of their inspiration and worship in bodily shape. This is expressed in the traditional title of the Vedic poets as "Seers"; the sūktas are supposed to have been a vision. Vrata and Rta were products of direct perception and inference to everybody who had eyes to see and a mind to reason; the reference in the first mandala सचंते धाम, 1.123.8, where धाम stands for Rta, is too indefinite and probably too late a statement to allow the conclusion that the Universal Law was personified as well. Not only did the Rsis see gods by sight, they conversed with them and joined them in sport; penitent Vaśistha ruefully recalls the good old days when he had access to Varuṇa's mansion with a hundred doors. Whatever may have been the exact nature of the Vedic gods—whether they were functionaries of Rta in the first place and embodiments of natural forces and facts in the second, or vice versa, there does not seem anything in the gods hidden from the mental eye of the Vedic singers, in other words, there are no theological mysteries in the RV. The doubt whether a god knows or does not, is the sarcastic expression of a sceptic which was met with no better reply than the impatient emphasis: This, ye people, is Indra. For already in the older parts of the Sāmhitā, the position of the Vedic was not absolutely secure; in course of time, one after the other fell, to be replaced by the one of the Upaniṣads and the new Many of the Purāṇas.

(translated from the Italian "*I Misteri*" of Raffaele Pettazzoni, Bologna 1924, by J. M. Unvala, Ph.D.)

Persian mysteries are those of Mithra (τὰ Περσῶν τοῦ Μίθρα μυστήρια Origen. c. *Cels.* 6, 22).

Mithra is not a deity of the vegetation. He is a very old god of the sky. He is the "lord of vast fields" (*Mih-Yasht* = *Yasht* 10); but these "fields" are originally and essentially the luminous spaces of heaven. Thus Mithraism presents itself at once as a problem for the history of religions—the problem of a heavenly deity placed at the head of a mysteric religion, being the titular god of one of those mysteries, which usually have developed, from agrarian cults, and are, therefore, naturally turned towards the ground and the underground rather than towards the sky. In order to resolve this problem, and to understand the peculiar character of Mithraic mysteries, it is befitting to follow the Persian religion in the whole of its development, beginning with the Iranian origins.¹ In fact, the mysteries of Mithra also, like those of Tamuz, like those of Osiris, like those of Attis, like those of Sabazios, like those of Dionysos and of Demeter, show some primitive elements, which have survived from the remotest antiquity, as we shall see.

Mithra is mentioned together with another god, p. 221 *Varuna*, already in a cuneiform tablet from Boghaz-Köi of about 1300 B.C.², which is, leaving aside the question of

1 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell' Iran* ("Storia delle religioni" 1), Bologna 1920.

2 E. Meyer, *Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte*, Sitzungsber. d. Berlin. Akad. 1908, 14 seq. Cf. H. Figulla, E. F. Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig 1916 and seq. (R. Pettazzoni, op. cit. 46 seq.).

the redaction of the *Vedas*, the oldest written document of the religion of an Indo-European people, that has come down to us.

Mithra and *Varuṇa* were divinities adored by the *Aryans* in India, divinities of that religion, which had as its sacred books the *Vedas*. It is in this religion that the intimate connection of the two divine figures appears, and is linguistically confirmed by the frequent occurrence of the *dvandva* compound *Mitravaruṇau*. This ancient and constant association of the two gods must have at its basis an essential affinity of their nature. In fact, both were originally, most probably, gods of the sky under two different aspects: the diurnal (*Mitra*) and the nocturnal (*Varuṇa*) (*R̥gveda*, 1, 115, 5).

Whereas in India *Mitra* appears apart from *Varuṇa*, as lacking a distinct personality, (a single hymn, *R̥gveda*, 3, 59, is dedicated to him individually), in Iran, on the contrary, *Mithra* was and remained the god of the luminous (diurnal and clear) heaven, distinct from and subordinated to the god of the whole and immanent celestial vault (cf. Herod. I, 131), who was, as *Varuṇa*, as *Zeus*, as *Jupiter*, the supreme god.

Of this supreme god of the primitive Iranian polytheism the reform of Zarathushtra¹ made its unique god, *Ahura Mazda* "the lord who knows". In fact, Zoroastrianism was a monotheistic religion founded on the negation of several naturalistic deities (*daevas*) existing in the Iranian paganism, who were henceforth considered as so many demons, adversaries of *Ahura Mazda*. *Mithra* is not mentioned in the *Gathas*, the oldest texts of Zoroastrianism, which reflect most closely and most faithfully the ideas of the Reformer. In a later period Zoroastrianism attenuated

1 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 49 seq.

its absolute and intransigent monotheism. That happened especially when from western Iran, namely from Media, whence it was originated the Zoroastrian movement was spread towards the east, and entered into Persia.

In this Persian surrounding, where the ancient polytheistic and "pagan" religion was in complete vigour and co-operated in strengthening the national and imperial state of the Achæmenides, Zoroastrianism did not impose itself in its orthodox form, which it maintained in sacerdotal circles, and mainly restricted itself, it seems, in forming proselytes among the highest classes of society. The people, the general mass of the nation, remained attached to the cult of its ancient nature gods. *Ahura Mazda* was the supreme god, (*mathishta bagānām*: inscription of Behistun); he was officially venerated as such, though not as the unique god, by the sovereigns themselves (inscriptions of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes II, Artaxerxes III).¹ The same sovereigns venerated and invoked besides *Ahura Mazda* also "other gods" (*baga*), "all gods" (*vithaibish bagaibish*: inscription of Persepolis), especially *Mithra* (Artaxerxes II, Artaxerxes III)¹. This was not all. *Mithra*, like other divinities (e.g., *Anahita*: p. 232) finally imposed himself on Zoroastrianism, to the effect that Zoroastrianism incorporated him in the form which alone was allowable according to its monotheistic doctrine, that is to say, not as a *daeua*, this word and its meaning being henceforth reserved for accursed demons, but as one of the good *yazatas* (i.e., "worthy of respect," "venerable," or "holy," a divine figure, but subordinated to the unique god); a *yazata*, however, superior to the others, excellent among all, "sent by *Ahura Mazda* to keep watch over the world" (*Yasht 10*, 103). p. 223

1 *Ibid.* p. 123 seq., 130, 132.

This was an effect of the reaction in Persia by the traditional religion on the reformed one; and this was not the only one. Zoroastrianism in its early period, which is represented in the *Gathas*, had abolished, together with the *daevas*, bloody sacrifices made in their honour (*Yasna* 29, 1; 32, 12, 14; 44, 20)¹ as well as intoxicating libations of the sacred *haoma*, which accompanied them (*Yasna* 32, 14; 48, 10). In fact, both the sacrifices and the libations were practised in the ancient naturalistic and pagan Iranian religion. If in later Zoroastrianism, as represented in the post-Gathic *Avesta*, bloody sacrifices reappear (*Yasna* 62, 1-2)² and if *haoma* was not only readmitted in the cult (cf. *Yasna*, 11, 4, seq.), but also its preparation and libation became the central act of the liturgy of Parsism (*Hom Yasht* = *Yasht* 20), it was on account of the influence exercised by the national Persian religion, in which those rites were perpetuated from the times of the proto-Iranian origins, and certainly continued to exist even after the advent of Zoroastrianism.

Sacrifices of animals (oxen, horses, camels, donkeys, sheep) to different divinities are in fact attested, independently of Zoroastrianism, among the Persians (Herod. 1,

¹ The passages of the *Avesta* are generally quoted after the translation of Ch. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Avesta*, Strassburg 1905, and Fr. Wolff, *Avesta* (without the *Gathas*), Strassburg 1910. Cf. the French translation of Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. XXI, XXII, XXIV), Paris 1892-1893. Some passages are translated by Geldner in *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* of Bertholet (Tübingen 1908), 323 seq., and by Lehmann in his *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig 1912), 256. (Partial) Italian translations: I. Pizzi, *Zarathustra, L'Avesta* (in the collection "Gli Immortali"), 1914; F.C. Cannizzaro, *Il Vendidad reso italiano*, Messina 1916.

² "And in the hand holding twigs and vervain and the ritual piece of meat": ("e in man reggendo e sarmenti e verbene e il rituale lembo di carne") transl. Pizzi, *op. cit.*, 157.

132 seq.; cf. *Vendidad* 22, 3, 4). Similarly the use of intoxicating drinks is evidenced in connection with the cult of Mithra himself (Ctes. and Duris ap. Athen. 10, 45, p. 434), *i.e.*, in those famous *Mithrakanas* (Μιτροκανα),^{p. 224} which were spread even outside Persia, and survived in Persia itself so long that their traces are found even in the Mohammedan epoch.¹ Here we touch directly the primitive ground of the Persian religion. A primitive and archaic cult of Mithra, belonging to the oldest stratum of the Iranian religion, having maintained itself in Persia, especially among the popular classes even after the penetration of Zoroastrianism: such was the original nucleus of that complex formation, which became afterwards Mithraism. Such was the first phase of that development, which finally ended into Mithraic mysteries. The sacrifice of the bull, which became the centre of the whole Mithraic system, will have been originally one of those bloody sacrifices, which were common to the Iranian paganism and still continued to be celebrated in Persia, even after the *Gathas* had prohibited the killing of the cattle and proclaimed the sanctity of the cattle (*Yasna* 33, 3-4; 44, 6; 50, 2). Probably this conspicuous and costly sacrifice had originally formed a part of solemn agrarian rites, destined to promote the fertility of fields, these rites being possibly similar to some ceremonies practised, *e.g.*, in Egypt, where a dispersion of the meat of a bull or other slaughtered animal on the fields took place (p. 152), or to those practised in Anatolia, where a bull

1 Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I and II (Bruxelles 1899 and 1896). This fundamental work will be henceforth quoted omitting the title, with the only indication of the volumes and of the relative pages. Cf. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*,³ Bruxelles 1913; A. Gasquet, *Essai sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra*, 1899; E. Roese, *Ueber Mithrasdienst*, Stralsund, 1915; G. Wolff, *Ueber Mithrasdienst u. Mithreen*, Frankfurt 1909; A. Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,² 1910 (cf. Cumont, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* 1904, 1).

was slaughtered (*taurobolium*, p. 132) in a ritual hunt (p. 108)¹ or to those practised by the Thracians, who after pursuing a bull or other animal (p. 62 seq.) tore it to pieces, that being the rite, on which the whole system of Orphism rests. Thus, it is that certain most archaic elements, which were perpetuated in Mithraism, upto the most recent times, receive an explanation, as the survival of those primitive phases of the religion, *e.g.* the customs of the initiates to

p. 225 masquerade in animal forms (p. 266), precisely like the Thracians, who in the above-mentioned celebrations used to assume the aspect of some animal (p. 63). The agrarian religion of the Thracians offers another comparison : that is the custom of worshippers of exalting themselves with wine (p. 63), just as the Persians did with *haoma*, the sacred drink, with which the sovereign of Persia, and the sovereign only, intoxicated himself (and also danced) (Duris *ap.* Athen. *l. c.*) on the occasion of the above-named *Mithrakanas*, (the practice will have been originally a more general one). Similarly among the Scythians, that is in a surrounding intermediate between Iranian and Thraco-Phrygian, the *Sakaia* festivals, celebrated *annually* at Zela in the Pontus (p. 234), to which dances and libations of wine and sexual license conferred an orgiastic character (ἡ τῶν Σακαίων ἑορτὴ βαρχεῖα τις)² and which, according to the tradition went back "to the time of Cyrus" (Strab. II, p. 512), will have been originally the ancient agrarian rites of the indigenous population (of the "Sakas"); on which afterwards the Persian cult of the goddess *Anahita*³ was superposed.

1 Cf. the view held by Cumont (cf. I, 334) that the *taurobolium* was primitively belonging to the cult of the Persian goddess *Anāhita* (certainly not to the cult of Mithra).

2 Εἰσίνους... ὀρχούμενοι καὶ βαρχεύοντες γυμνοί... πινόντων ἅμα καὶ πληγτιζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα τε καὶ τὰς συμπινούσας γυναῖκας : Strab. *l. cit.*

3 Cf. C. Clemen, *Neue Jahrb.* 1922, 125.

On the other hand the *haoma* has its most exact counterpart in the Vedic *Soma*. In the Vedic religion also a ritual sacrifice with bloody victims and libations of *Soma* as its basis was the central religious act, from which that movement of the theological thought took its origin, which finally culminated in the speculations of Brahmanism. It is therefore not out of place to think that a rudimentary cosmological and eschatological belief developed correspondingly also among the Iranian peoples around the agrarian sacrifice of the bull and the libations of *haoma*, which p. 226 carried the individual in an ultramundane sphere. In substance, it is always the rite, which reflects itself into the myth; and even when the myth reaches, as in India, the summit of the speculative thought, its humble religious origins are not thereby annulled. In a similar way a superior eschatology could be developed from Thracian rudimentary religion, giving origin to Orphism (p. 60).

We find in Iran an eschatology oriented for the most part towards heaven. The case is not at all exceptional; it has on the contrary numerous points of comparison in the ancient and modern ethnography. Again, the blessed, considered as the "fathers" (*pitaras*) dwelt, according to the *Vedas* (*R̥gveda*, 14, 1, 8; cf. 1, 154, 6)¹ in the third sky. Nor is such a lofty eschatology to be found only among peoples of a relatively advanced civilisation (traces are found also in Greece, among the Israelites etc.):¹ the belief that the souls of the dead resided in heaven and especially in the stars, is common to many absolutely primitive peoples of all continents.² It would be inter-

1 J. Scheftelowitz, *Der Seelen- und Unsterblichkeitsglauben im Alten Testament*, Archiv. f. Religionswiss. 19 (1919), 217.

2 Cf. P. Capelle, *De luna, stellis, lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* (Diss.), Halle, 1917. Cf. McCulloch, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 681 seq. Several examples are alleged also in vol. I of *my Formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo* (Roma 1922), 17 (Australia), 295 (Africa meridionale).

ting to establish, whether this heavenly eschatology depends on the rite of cremation as well as the chthonic one possibly depends on that of inhumation. As among many peoples, *e.g.*, among the Greeks, both the funeral rites were practised, thus the heavenly eschatology does not exclude the chthonic, the one co-existing possibly with the other in the belief of the same people, according to certain criteria by which the destiny of the soul in heaven or under earth is regulated. This case is also verified among ancient peoples of Iran.

p. 227 It is true that as regards the Iranian eschatological beliefs, and as much can be said of the cosmological, we do not know them in their primitive form, but only as they appear in the text of a relatively later period, and, what is worse, conceived in a thoroughly reformed spirit, which is practically a transforming one. But even in such texts the elements of a primitive belief, however changed and made to suit the fundamental principle of the Reform, are still present; and so much more in the later ones, these having especially undergone the reaction exercised by paganism on genuine Zoroastrianism in the Persian country (p. 222 seq.). Even the capital dogma of Zoroastrianism, *i.e.*, the antagonistic dualism between the principle of good (*Ahura Mazda, Ohrmazd*) and the principle of evil (*Angra Mainyu, Ahriman*), which especially in the extra-Gathic (post-Gathic)¹ *Avesta* is pressed to the extreme consequences, contained in itself, as its original nucleus, the elementary mythical motive of the fight between light and darkness. Likewise, if in Zoroastrianism (we find that) from the body of the primordial bull (already in the Gatha *Geush urvan* "the soul of the bull", *Geush tashan* "the maker of the bull", *Yasna* 29, 1, 2; 31, 9), created together with the primordial man (*Gaya* or *Gayomart*) by *Ahura Mazda*

1 Cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra* 56 seq.

and killed by Angra Mainyu, proceeds the whole vegetable world, as well as (from its sperm) the whole animal world (*Bundahish* 4), whereas from another bull sacrificed by the "Savior" (*Saoshyant*) at the end of the times (with the typical accompaniment of *haoma*) the just ones will obtain immortality also for their resuscitated human bodies (*Bundahish* 30, 25), this Zoroastrian cosmology can be considered as a mythical development of the primitive p. 228 ritualistic sacrifice of the bull into the twofold cosmic projection, at the beginning and at the end of the world. Analogously, as regards eschatology, as the Zoroastrian doctrine of the *Fravashis* (the original archetypes of all things, and of all beings of the good order, existing *ab initio* by the creating act of Ahura Mazda, destined to assume by degrees temporarily earthly forms and existences in the progressive course of the history of the world) can be reconducted to the elementary animistic belief in the spirits of the dead¹; thus, in the Zoroastrian beliefs concerning the destiny of the soul after death (the judgment before the heavenly tribunal, the passage over the fatal bridge *Cinvat* [already in the *Gathas* the "bridge of the judge": *Yasna* 46, 10], the precipitation of the damned souls in hell, the voyage of the blessed souls across the three heavens [that of the stars or of "good thoughts": *humata*, that of the moon or of "good words": *huxta*, and that of the sun or of "good actions": *hvarshata*] to the highest firmament (*Garotmān*), the residence of Ahura Mazda)², however modified in a dualistic and moralising spirit, one can detect the elements of a primitive

1 Cf. N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 39 (1899), 229 seq.; *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (*Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Etudes*, IX), Paris 1901.

2 Cf. *Yasna* 1, 17; 4, 21; 7, 18; cf. Bousset, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 4, 1901, 155 seq.

eschatology not unaware of earth, yet mainly oriented 'towards heaven.

In this eschatology the heavenly element far from being the invention of a speculative mind under a systematic dualistic bias, opposed to the infernal element, is derived from a fund of popular beliefs, as not only it appears from the popular and fantastic system¹ of the three heavens (the stars, the moon, and the sun), but rather more from
 p. 229 the fact that the bridge of *Cinvat*, the bridge over which the soul goes forth to heaven (Bousset says that it "seems to appertain to the most archaic fund of the Iranian religion")² could have been originally the *rainbow*, which, among many peoples, also among "savages", is considered precisely as a bridge thrown between earth and heaven. On the side of the earth the bridge of *Cinvat* rests on the highest mountain *Hara* (*Haraberezaiti*). This mountain which touches with its summit heaven is precisely (*Yasht* 10, 50 seq.) the abode of Mithra. As the lord of heaven (p. 221), i.e., of the luminous spaces through which the soul passes in its ascension towards the empyreum, Mithra is naturally associated with the eschatological belief. Perhaps originally it was Mithra himself who guided the soul in its celestial journey. Later on in Parsism we find Mithra talking part in company of *Rashna* and *Sraosha* in the judgment of the soul after death (*Yasht* 10, 126; cf. *Vendidad* 7, 52?). We do not know exactly which motives had led to the association of Mithra with that sacrifice of the bull (p. 224), which seems to us to be an agrarian rite, and was perhaps the most solemn rite of the primitive Iranian religion. But if it is true that in this solemnity the worshippers drank the sacred *haoma* and being exalted by intoxication

¹ Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, Archiv f. Religionswiss. 4. 1901, 160.

² *Ibid.* 155 n. 3.

felt themselves conveyed to another superhuman world, to that world where also, according to their belief, the souls of the dead (of certain dead) ascended, it is clear that by this means the first association of Mithra with the eschatological beliefs of the Persians possibly took place (p. 257 seq.). In certain legends of holy persons, carried off alive to heaven, legends which although related in the late *Pehlevi* texts (*Ardā Virāf*, *Zardushtnāme*, *Bahman* p. 230-*Yasht*) are not deprived of ancient elements, the elected ones ascended to heaven in a state of ecstasy produced by means of an intoxicating drink.¹ Through his luminous nature, through his position specially intermediate between heaven and earth (p. 259), and hierarchically subordinated to the highest Ahura Mazda, Mithra was naturally destined to become the intermediary between God and humanity. This insertion of Mithra in the eschatological beliefs of the Persians probably founded on a naturalistic datum, viz., on the celestial nature of this most ancient Indo-Iranian divinity, had most important consequences for the future of the destiny of the god. This was the point of departure whence Mithra came to become the saviour of humanity, initiating that soteriological transformation of his, which was perfected in the Mithraic mysteries.

But this process from which the mysteries grew out was, like in other religions, slow and long. It was completed only out of the original surrounding, when the Persian religion, after being definitely constituted in Persia on the basis of the ancient Iranian paganism, modified with the contact of Zoroastrianism, sprang up from the national territory and moved forward towards the West. The first stage was Babylonia.

Babylonia was the winter resort of the Achæmenides. Here the "Magi", or the priests of the Persian religion,

¹ *Ibid.* 162 seq.

were certainly present in a great number with the court. Although they kept themselves distinct from the "Chaldæi", *i.e.*, from the priests of the Babylonian religion, (only among the Greeks, and then among the Romans, the distinction was effaced: cf. Lucian *Menipp.* 6), enjoying, as it
 p. 231 seems, of a right of precedence (Quint. Curt. 5, 1, 22; cf. 3, 3, 9 seq.) among them, this did not hinder them to appropriate at least locally some elements, of the Babylonian religion, above all astral elements, in accordance with the astrological character of this religion. Mithra underwent in a special manner this Babylonian influence so much that he could be afterwards designated in the West as a "Babylonian" or "Assyrian" god.¹ The Babylonisation of Mithra consisted in his assimilation with *Shamash*, the Babylonian god of the Sun, to which Mithra was naturally akin, being himself the divinity of the luminous heaven. Likewise the Persian eschatology was modified in the Babylonian sense,² especially in that part which was oriented (p. 226) towards heaven.³ Thus it happened that for the three heavens plus the empyreum, the more complex system of the seven planetary spheres was substituted: the soul of the righteous, departing from the earth in order to attain the supreme heaven of Abura Mazda, passed through seven interposed celestial spheres corresponding to the seven planets, and thus successively got rid of the natural tendencies owed to the astral influences of every one of the traversed planets, tendencies which were at first attached to her, and which she had put on like garments

1 Cumont I, p. 9.

2 Bousset, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 4. 1901, 234 seq.

3 But without forgetting the earth (cf. the *Aralu* of the ancient Babylonian religion): the Magi "of Zoroaster" in Babylonia were able to make a living person descend into the hell and to make him come up again by means of their rites and conjurations: Lucian. *Menipp.*, 6.

when she had to pass through the planetary spaces in an opposite course during its journey of descent from heaven on the earth.¹ A reflex of this belief, being a precious evidence of its antiquity, is to be found, as it seems, in the Platonic myth of the "Armenian" *Er* ("Hq") (*Plat. resp.* 614 b seq.), who by the Epicurean philosopher Colotes (third century B.C.) was taken for Zoroaster, whereas others made him the teacher of Zoroaster (*Procl. in Plat. remp. comm.* II, 109 seq. Kroll). Another Babylonian idea, which then will have penetrated into the religion of the Magi (traces of it are found in the West in Eudemos of Rhodes, a pupil of Aristotle fr. 117 FPHG III, p. 289) is that of the infinite Time, *Zrvan akarana*, which fatally presides over the destiny of the world and of all things. This conception, which does not appear in the orthodox Zoroastrianism (*Zrvan* "the time" is, according to the Avesta, created by Ahura Mazda: *Vendidad* 19, 13 and 16), whereas it appears later as the fundamental doctrine of a Zoroastrian dissident sect, the *Zravanites*, according to which Ohrmazd as well as Ahriman was issued from *Zrvan*², became on the contrary proper to Mithraism, which diffused it also in the West, as we shall see (p. 247). p. 232

From the Babylonian religion and Babylonian art the Persians, *who did not know originally the anthropomor-*

* 1 For the western Mithraism, cf. Cels. ap. Origen. c. *Cels.* 1, 9; Porphy., *de antro nymph.* 5 seq. Cp. the capital value of this doctrine in the Gnosis: Anz. *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, Leipzig 1897; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907. Cf. the article "Gnosis" in *Realencyklop.* VII, 1502.

* 2 R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 189. Against the attempt of P. Alfarcic, *Zoroastre avant l'Avesta*, *Revue d'hist. et de littér. relig.* 7. 1921, 1 seq., 145 seq., making Zervanism dependent on an ancient poem in Greek (contemporaneous with the Orphic poetry), attributed to Zoroaster, cf. Fr. Cumont, *Zoroastre chez les Grecs et la doctrine zervaniste*, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.* 8. 1922, 1 seq.

phic conception and representation of the divinity (Herod. I, 131; cf. Dinon fr. 9 FHG. II, p. 91; Strab. 15, 3, 13, p. 732), learned also the use of divine statues and generally speaking of the divine images (cf. Curt. 3, 3, 15), and applied it to their own divinities, including Ahura Mazda¹, and particularly to a goddess who seems to have incorporated in her figure, through assimilation with *Ishtar* (p. 203 seq.), several Assyro-Babylonian elements (cf. Herod. I, 131): this goddess is *Anāhita*, properly speaking the "immaculate" the deity of irriguous and fertilising waters, afterwards admitted also into Zoroastrianism, of course as a *yazatā* (*Ardvī Sūra Anāhita*; cf. *Ardvīsur Yasht* = *Yasht* 5). *Anāhita* was, together with Mithra, one of the most popular divinities of the Persian national religion; together with Mithra she is often expressly mentioned in the monumental inscriptions of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (B.C. 405-359), who in fact diffused her statues, and also her cult, even outside Persia proper, in Babylonia, in Susa, and upto the remotest satrapies of his empire, from Babylonia to Damascus in Syria and to Sardes in Lydia (Beros. fr. 16 FHG II, p. 508).

Thus in the cult of *Anāhita* we find in the Achæmenian epoch for the first time a sort of religious syncretism (precluding other syncretic formations on a wider scale) associated with the first expansion of the Persian religion in non-Persian countries, from Babylonia, which was then, so to say, the second capital of the empire, as far as the most peripheric regions. Thereupon, when the empire of the Achæmenides was destroyed in 330 B.C., the expansion of the religion became more intense by means of the Persian "diaspora", through the work especially of the Persian priests, the "Magi", who escaped immediate subjugation

1 Semi-anthropomorphic representations of Ahuramazda on the monuments of Darius I: cf. R. Pettazzoni, *op. cit.* 127.

to the foreign rulers by flight and exile from their mother-country as well as from Babylonia, and sought refuge in Asia Minor, where some satraps of the fallen empire could maintain in fact, if not in name, their sovereignty over the territory ruled by them even after the Greek conquest. These small Anatolian states under more or less legitimate dynasties of Persian origin together with others of a more theocratic character founded and governed by priests (Strab. 12, p. 559), became as many centres of Persian life and civilisation, as well as of the Persian religion.

This Persian religion transplanted in Asia Minor was the national religion of Persia, such as it had been pro- p. 234
fessed by the sovereigns and the people and celebrated by the Magi. It contained (pp. 224, 230) religious elements of oldest Iranian origin besides others also of Iranian origin but belonging to the reformed Mazdaism of Zarathushtra, while other elements of Semitic origin had joined to these in Babylonia. So composite in character the Persian religion was spread in Asia Minor. In Armenia, a country which in its whole civilisation, strongly and constantly underwent the Persian influence, we find the cult of the most popular goddess (Ishtar-)Anāhita (Strab. 11, p. 532; 12, p. 559) side by side with that of *Vahagn*,¹ who is the Avestic *Verethraghna* ("the Victory") with some traits of *Zrvan*.² In Cappadocia, which was one of the principal centres of the Iranian diaspora, where the Persian calendar³ was adopted, perhaps since 400 B.C., Anāhita and *Omanos*, i.e., *Vohu Mano* "good Thought", were worshipped together (Strab. 15, p. 733). The latter, originally a personified abstraction, such as are frequent

1 Gelzer, *Zur armenischen Götterlehre*, Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1896, 104 seq. 137.

2 Cumont I, 133 and 19 n. 7.

t I, 11, n. 1; II, 6.

in Zoroastrianism, had fallen from its primitive purity low enough to become represented even anthropomorphically by a statue, which was carried in procession (perhaps with another of Anāhita herself: p. 233). Anāhita had a cult also at Zela in Pontus together with Omanos and another (Zoroastrian?) divine figure *Anadates* (= *Ameretāt*?: Strab. 11, p. 512). The Magi, coming from Babylonia, had penetrated into Cappadocia, according to the authority of St. Basilus (*epist.* 258 *ad Epiphanium*); he found them there still in his time (fourth century A.D.) and attributes them the Perso-Babylonian conception of Zrvan (Basil. *l. cit.*). In some inscriptions of Cappadocia of the second and first century B.C. the personified "good Mazdean religion"—*Dēn māzdayasnish* (*dēn* = *daēnā*)—is mentioned, side by side with a god *Bel*, who would be in reality Ahura Mazda under the name of the corresponding Babylonian (supreme) god. Such inscriptions are written in the "Chaldeo-Pehlevi" language and in Aramaic characters.¹ Aramaic was in fact the spoken language in Cappadocia. The term *μαγιστῶν* with which the Magi were designated there (Bardesanes, Basilus, Epiphanius) was exactly the Aramaic *magusāyē*, where the archaic suffix of the plural (instead of *magusē*) goes to confirm the antiquity of the penetration of the Magi. As for the cult, it seems that the Magi of Cappadocia were attached to the ancient traditional Persian cult, rather than to the Zoroastrian liturgy, at least to judge from the lack of sacred books (Basil. *l. cit.*).² On the contrary

1 Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. semit Epigr.* 1 (Giessen 1902), 60 seq.; 3, 65 seq. Cf. H. Reichelt, *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenl.* 15. 1901, 51 seq. Cf. the bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) of Farasha (Rhodandos) in Cappadocia: Grégoire, *Compt. rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B. L.* 1908, 434 seq.

2 This statement of St. Basil is confirmed by the Armenian Eznig who depends on Theodorus of Mopsueste (Cumont I, 19). (It

the use of the sacred texts flourished in the Persian religion, as it was practised by the Magi in Lydia (in the cities of Hierocaesarea and Hypaipa); during the office celebrated near the altars of fire they "recited in a barbarous tongue incomprehensible to the Greeks, reading in a book" (Paus. 5, 275). The *Magusei* existed in the time of Bardesanes (ap. Euseb. *praep. evang.* 6, 10, p. 275 c-d, 1, p. 353 Gifford) also in Phrygia (inscription of Amorion) and Galatia, as well as in Egypt.

That Mithra was not only present,¹ but enjoyed a special veneration in this Persian religion transplanted in Asia Minor can be argued at least from the frequency of *theophore* names formed with *Mithra* (especially *Mithradates*) in the onomastics of the sovereigns of the Iranian p. 236 dynasties of Anatolia.² If some one of them had succeeded in making out of his small hereditary principality a great, powerful, and durable state, as it happened for a short time to the sovereigns of Pontus, especially to Mithridates Eupator (died A.D. 63), perhaps in Anatolia together with the resurrection of an Iranian state also a revival of the Persian religion with Mithra at its head, a sort of official Mithraism should have taken place.³ The Persian religion in Anatolia evolved on the contrary on a thoroughly different plane, developing itself into a

is true that Basil says also, against what Strabo affirms, that the Magi of Cappadocia did not practise animal sacrifices). The want of written texts must have been supplied by the oral transmission of the doctrines (Basil *l. cit.*) as well as of the prayers and formulae. The use of the liturgical recitations as accompaniment of bloody sacrifices goes back to the ancient Persian custom: Herod. 1, 132.

1 Mithra had a place (as titular god of the seventh month) in the Persian calendar adopted in Armenia and Cappadocia: Cumont II, p. 6, I, p. 132.

2 Cumont II, 75 seq.

3 Cumont I, 240.

mystical and esoteric, instead of an official Mithraism, at any rate into a Mithraism with an accentuation of those eschatological and soteriological elements, originally present in it, over which the cult of Mithra had superposed itself (p. 229, 258).

These elements transmitted from Iranian origins (p. 224) and belonging to the deep substratum of the popular religious conscience, though altered and modified in course of time, were never destroyed, and though obscured by the prevalence of other cults and other doctrines, were never suppressed: being themselves unsuppressible, they were brought again to the foreground of the religious life in consequence of the downfall of the Persian empire and the following relaxation of national connection, thence resulting for Persia such a situation which is the most favourable for strengthening individual conscience (the individual being then left to himself), and for intensifying individual religion with its eschatological preoccupations and soteriological aspirations. The ancient beliefs about the destiny of the soul after death, in which the figure of Mithra had assumed a conspicuous part (p. 229), received now a new valorisation, especially in the *diaspora*, where the above described conditions lasted long and became more and more worse, because if the national cohesion was shaken in the mother-country, it was more relaxed in foreign countries. In Anatolia, especially after the more or less ephemeral attempted reconstructions of states under Iranian rule, the ethnic (Iranian) elements, among which the Magi preponderated, always came to be more and more reduced to communities of a religious character, tenaciously conservative of the faith of their ancestors, generally closed in the pride of their caste (ἄμικτοι ὄντες πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους Basil. l. cit.), though not wholly inaccessible to the alien peoples, in whose midst they

lived, perhaps also addicted, according to time and place, to a certain proselytism, in such a way that whoever was admitted to partake in cult and religion became also a member of the community, though he was not admitted all at once, but gradually, the supreme knowledge, the perfect practice and the hereditary transmission of religion being reserved for the Magi.

Thus also in the exterior and formal respect the development of the Persian religion towards an esoteric type, such as is usually characteristic of mysteries,¹ was promoted, whereas internally, as we hint, the eschatological and soteriological elements came to prevail; and with them the figure of Mithra passed in the first line. Also in Asia Minor the Persian eschatology was dominated by the ancient belief of the ascension of the (righteous) soul (p. 228 seq.) to the supreme heaven of Ahura Mazda. Such belief is there documented by an epigraphic text of p. 238 great historico-religious importance. It is the inscription which Antiochos I, king of Commagene (69-34 B.C.), caused to be inscribed on his sepulchral monument erected on one of the ranges of the Taurus (Nemrud Dagħ)². Here, in the solitude of the mountains, almost in nearer proximity to the celestial residences (οὐρανίων ἀγχίστα θρόνων), his body should lie upto the end of times "after having liberated the pious soul towards the celestial thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes" (πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ὀρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῇ ψυχὴν προπέμψαν). This syncretistic assimilation of the highest Persian god

1. Ἐμύγευσσε Μίθρην in the inscription of Farasha (n. 28). The Magian Tiridates (king of Armenia) *magicis cenis eum* (= Nerone) *initiauerat*: Plin. n. h. 30, 2, 17. Initiatic rites already practised in Persia in the cult of Anāhita (Plut. Artax. 3)? Cf. Cumont I, 239, 23 n. 1 and Cumont, *Les myst. de Mithra* 3, 26 n. 1.

2. H. von Pauchstein, *Reisen in Klein-Asien u. Nord-Syrien*, Berlin 1899, pl. 23, 31, 49; Cumont II, p. 89, cf. p. 187.

(Ohrmazd, Ahura Mazda) with the highest Greek god (Zeus) is not the only one, which recurs in the inscriptions of Antiochos. Among the statues and reliefs which decorated the basement of his sepulchral sanctuary, besides himself and the personified Commagene three divinities figured, who are designated in the inscriptions by their names. They are 1) the above-mentioned *Zeus Oromasdes*; 2) *Mithra* identified with *Apollo*, with *Helios* (through the Babylonian *Shamash*) and with *Hermes* (perhaps as a reflex of the function of Mithra as psychopompus?); and 3) *Artagnes* (= Avesta *Verethraghna*, "the Victory": p. 234), identified with *Herakles* and *Ares* (Διός τε Ὠρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως).

p. 239 • Such a syncretic process had formerly taken place between Persian divinities and divinities of other oriental religions (Babylonian, Armenian, etc., p. 233 seq.). We find it here for the first time applied also to Greek divinities. The inscription of Antiochos is therefore for us the first Anatolian document of that Hellenisation of Mithraism, which was the first preliminary necessary condition for its ulterior expansion in the West. This was in fact the double-specific contribution, which the Iranian diaspora in Anatolian territory brought in the complicated and laborious process of the constitution of Mithraism as a third moment after the Persian and Babylonian moments. In this Anatolian milieu on the one hand the transformation of the immigrated (Babylonised) Persian religion into the mysteries of Mithra was effectuated, and so the constitution of Mithraism was completed, and on the other hand, consequently, the conditions were prepared by which its vaster western diffusion was rendered possible. For both motives Asia Minor appears as the most important stage of the long road traversed by the religion of Mithra.

It is the stage which closes its previous oriental development along the Iranian, Babylonian and Anatolian lines and opens to it a new western European horizon.

Indeed, not only in so interior a country as Com-magene, at the court of a prince, who was proud of his descent from the Persian dynasty of the Achæmenides and from the Greek dynasty of the Seleucides as well, the influence of Hellenism on the religion of Mithra made itself felt, but also the communities of the Magi being spread here and there in the country of Anatolia, however averse to foreign contacts (p. 237), and however attached to the traditional customs, did not always remain inaccessible to the currents of that Hellenistic civilisation, by which the whole Asia Minor was traversed at that time, and to the tendencies of that invading and assimilating culture, which in Alexandria, *e.g.* spurred the librarian Hermippos to collect and to catalogue numerous volumes, which went p. 240 under the name of Zoroaster (Plin. *nat. hist.* 30, 2, 4).

A further factor which is by no means negligible in concern with the adaptation of a religion quite unaware of anthropomorphism, as the Persian religion was (p. 232), to the plastic needs of the religious conscience of the peoples of Graeco-Roman civilisation, was the creation of a figured type of Mithra, which, when once adopted and consecrated by the religion, became constant and was reproduced, without essential alterations, in hundreds of copies dispersed throughout the Roman world. Such a type, the well-known Mithra *tauroctone*, derived from the classical type (fifth century B.C.) of *Nike* ("Victory") sacrificing a bull, was created, in all probability, about the second century B.C. by a sculptor of the school of Pergamus. (Remarkable in it are the conventionally oriental costume of the god and the *pathos* in the expression of the visage).

But above all what promoted and favoured the diffusion of Mithraism in the West was a capital innovation introduced in the liturgy. The ancient Iranian language, which was a traditional and therefore essential element in the religion of the Magi (Herod. I, 132), and in which the ritual texts, transmitted from generation to generation, were conceived and written (at least among some communities, e.g. in Lydia: p. 235)—that barbarous and incomprehensible language, for which an irreverent author, a native, it must be noted, of Commagene, Lucian (*de deor. conc.* 9; cf. *Menipp.* 7 and 9), did not spare his bitter derision, finding it absurd and ridiculous, was abandoned and substituted by the Greek (p. 250).

We do not know exactly in which part of Asia Minor
 p: 241 this Hellenisation of Mithraism took place, as in general, we are ignorant, where precisely Mithraism attained its definite constitution. That constitution, however, ought to be, at any rate, an accomplished fact, when Mithraism began to be diffused in the West, because there, from the Balkan peninsula to Spain and from North Africa to England, Mithraism appears as an organic and unitarian system, constantly identical, not only in fundamental lines, but also, with few exceptions, in the particulars of minor relief.

Probably the first wave of the western expansion of Mithraism is represented in the Mediterranean incursions of those Cilician pirates,¹ who after having sacked the sanctuaries of several Greek cities, (Plut. *Pomp.* 24), were finally subdued in 67 B.C. by Pompeius, and were partly deported to Dyme and perhaps to Patras (Plut. *Pomp.* 28). They practised, in fact, together with other barbarian cults, the cult of Mithra, which according to

1 Cf. The Mithraic relief discovered at Isbarta (Baris) in Pisidia: Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*³, Bruxelles 1913, 36 in nota.

Plutarch became known for the first time in the West precisely at that time (καταδειχθεῖσα πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων), and precisely as a cult of a mystical and esoteric character) τελετάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ἐτέλουν). Besides this sporadic prelude,¹ the big western expansion of Mithraism really began during the first century A.D., when the most distant p. 242 regions of Asia Minor, i.e. Cappadocia and Commagene, were incorporated one after the other into the empire and became one of the principal centres for the supply of men to the legions. The Anatolian recruits, who were incorporated in the Roman armies, passed successively from one legion to another and were transferred from one province into another, especially on the frontier. Thus they became the principal agents in the propagation of the religion of Mithra, which was and remained in the first place a religion of soldiers; functionaries of the civil staff as well as merchants (especially Syrians) also had their share in its diffusion.

It is noteworthy that Greece was in the first expansional movement of Mithraism from Asia into Europe, so to say, leapt over and afterwards always represented a gap in the whole of Mithraic expansion. As such a gap is not likely to be adequately filled up by future discoveries, we are led to see in it the result of a profound congenial incompatibility through which the god of the ancient Persian invaders was steadily kept far from the ground of Hellas. As a matter of fact Mithraism is to be found in Greece proper only in a very few localities (Patras, perhaps

• 1 Also the journey to Rome of the Arsacide Tiridates (brother of the king of the Parthians) who came to receive from the hands of Nero the investiture of the kingdom of Armenia (Plin. n. h. 30. 2 (6), 16 seq.; Tacit. ann. 15, 24; Dio Cass., 63, 5 and 7). Tiridates was a great worshipper of Mithra, but it is difficult to speak of a real and veritable Mithraism in Parthia at the time of the Arsacides: cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Rel. di Zarat.* 171; Cumont I, p. 279.

in connection with the deportation of the pirates of Cilicia to Dyme: Plut. *Pomp.* 28; Piræus; Andros), in which connection, however, the eventual reflux of a wave starting from the Latin world and reaching Asia Minor and Egypt, also deserves consideration.¹

A little before 100 A.D. the presence of the cult of Mithra in Rome is reported.² The two most ancient Roman inscriptions pertaining to the cult of Mithra, which are, generally speaking, the most ancient Mithraic monuments known upto date, are of the epoch of Trajan or a little earlier: one is dedicated by a freed man (CIL. 6. 732 = IG XIV. 996) and the other by a slave (CIL. 6. 718).³ The progress was most rapid, and was promoted also by the growing imperial favour. In Mœsia, Dacia, Pannonia, Germania, Britannia, *i.e.* in the northern provinces, where a strong appointment of exotic troops permanently dwelt, Mithraism is strongly represented. It is less represented in Africa, Dalmatia and Gallia, still less in Hispania, its introduction into these provinces having been principally effected by way of the commercial relations with the Orient.⁴

1 Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard, *Bas-relief mithriaque découvert à Patras*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.*, 64 (1911), 179 seq., Piræus: inscription Cumont II, 469; mithræum and inscription of the time of Septimius Severus at Andros: T. Sauciuc, *Ein Denkmal des Mithraskultes auf Andros*, *Röm. Mittheil.* 25. 1910, 263.

2 Cf. the allusion to a representation of Mithra tauroctonos (p. 251) in *Stat. Theb.* 1, 719 (about 80 A.D.).

3 Cumont I, 245, II, 105. Cf. Hülsen, *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1899, 683.

4 Cumont I, 241 seq.; *Le religioni orientali nel paganesimo romano* 139-164; Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, 1^{re} (Les provinces latines), 2 (Les cultes orientaux), Paris 1911, 121-177; Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*², 368 seq.; Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griech.-röm. Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1920, 15, 29. Other recent discoveries and works: L. Campi *Il culto di Mitra nella*

The Mithraic religion was largely protected by the Antonini, especially by Commodus, who frequented the mysteries (Lamprid. *Comm.* 9). The progress continued upto the middle of the third century. After a period of stasis, there was a period of renewal about the end of the third century (Aurelian) and in the beginning of the fourth (Diocletian), when Mithraism, which as such did never form a part of the religion of the state, was to a certain extent identified with the religion of the Sun, that having become the official religion of the Roman state. At Carnuntum on the Danube, an ancient Mithraic centre, Diocletian with other *Jovii et Herculii religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares* restored and dedicated a sanctuary *D(eo) S(oli) i(n)ric(t)o M(ithrae) fautori imperii sui* (C L 3. 4413). Then Mithraism begins to decay in the provinces (CIL. 6. 507, a. 313). There was a renewal, especially in Rome, in the time of Julian (CIL. 6. 749 seq.: a. 357), who was initiated into the mysteries. It lasted till the last decades of the fourth century (CIL. 6. 500 seq.). Thereupon (Gratianus and Theodosius) began the persecutions against the worshippers of Mithra and the destruction of the mithræa. Mithraism persisted only sporadically in some provincial corners (Val di Non) as late as the fifth century.

In the Roman world itself, including the most peripheric regions of the empire, Mithraism especially maintained p. 244 its exotic character. In its form it was hellenised, and

Naunia, Archivio Trentino 24. 1909, 107; F. Haverfield, *On a Mithraic relief found in London*, Archæologia 1906; P. Paris, *Restes du culte de Mithra en Espagne*, Rev. Archéol. 24 (1914), 1 seq.; R. Förster, *Das Mithra-Heiligtum von Königshofen bei Strassburg*, 1915 (Cf. Camont, Rev. des études anciennes 1918, 117); Notizie degli scavi 1915, 324; 1918, 3; G. Baserga, *Scavi ad Angera: il culto mitriaco*, Como 1919; Kazarow, *Ein Mithrasdenkmal aus Makedonien*, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 1921, 236.

latinised respectively, through the necessity of adapting itself to the Graeco-Roman surrounding. Here and there in the West some foreign element were also incorporated (e.g. the cult of the *Matronae*, *Nutrices*, *Deae Quadrubiae*)¹ but in substance it remained as it was, i.e. as it had definitely constituted itself in Anatolia, viz. an oriental religion having an Iranian (Persian) basis with a *plus* of Semitic (Babylonian) elements and with a mystic and initiatic character. Only through this remote and complex pre-history we are able to understand Mithraism as it appears in late historic times. On the other hand the Mithraic documents of the imperial Roman period are for us the only documents, which indirectly inform us about those oldest beliefs.

The figured types of the divinities represented on the Mithraic monuments, above all Mithra himself (p. 240), are Greek, i.e. created by the Greek art, although they were thereupon conventionalised and vulgarised through the Graeco-Roman world in general. The names of the divinities mentioned in the inscriptions are prevailing Latin. They are like two different forms of language, a figured and a spoken one, which are parallel and equivalent, both being applied to the rendering of the Mithraic divinities into western forms according to the tendencies and principles of the dominating syncretism. Still it cannot be asserted that this westernisation of Mithraism, which is for the most part only formal, was a perfect one. Besides some exotic (Iranian?) incomprehensible and hitherto unexplained terms (*nama* CIL. 6. 731, *nama sebesio* CIL. 6. 719, *nama cunctis* CIL. 14. 3567), Mithra himself, the central figure of the religion, who had been already p. 245 assimilated to Apollo, Helios, Hermes (p. 238) preserved in the West his Iranian name, perhaps on account of the

1 Cumont I, 156; Toutain, *op. cit.* 123.

difficulty of choosing between various possible identifications, (thus a sign of the advertised essential and not confoundible individuality of the god). Also the names of the two subordinate and co-essential figures of *Cautes* and *Cautopates* seem to be of exotic rather than of Greek or Latin origin.¹ (These are the two young torch-bearers—with one or two torches—who stand constantly on each side of Mithra respectively, wearing the same conventional oriental costume as the god himself. They are essentially representatives of Mithra himself in an initial (*Cautes* with the torch held on high) and in a final (*Cautopates* with the torch held down) moment of his solar career, either diurnal or annual. Iranian is the term *Nabarzes*, *Navarzes* “the strong one, the courageous one” (or “the renovator”?)¹, which is attributed to Mithra on Latin inscriptions (CIL. 6. 742; 3, 3481, 7938) side by side with the usual epithet “*invictus*” (ἀνίκητος). Further, Iranian is the name of the god *Areimanius* (*deo Areimanio* CIL. 6. 47; 3. 3414 seq.), i.e., *Angra mainyu*, the “evil spirit” of the *Avesta* (p. 227): he is the principle of evil, the anti-god, the adversary of *Spenta Mainyu* (*Yasna* 30, 3 seq.) according to Zoroastrianism, who already in Persia was identified, through an obvious assimilation, with the god of hell (Herod. 7, 114) of the popular religion, corresponding to the Greek *Hades* (cf. Theopomp. fr. 72 FHG. 1 p. 289), and as such passed afterwards together with Mithra into the West, where he was identified with Pluto (*mithræum* of Osterburken) and received dedications and sacrifices (especially of noxious animals: wolves, Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46).

As regards Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of the Zoroastrian as well as of the popular Persian religion (p. 221), whose name had been first known to Hellenism

p. 246.

¹ Cf. L. H. Gray, *Le Muséon* 1915, 189.

in the transliterated form *Oromasdes, Oromazes* (p. 238),¹ he received in the western Mithraism, together with the figured type of Zeus, the name of *Jupiter*. He was, however, named otherwise *Caelus: optimus maximus Caelus Aeternus Jupiter* (CIL. 6. 81 seq.; cf. *Jovi optimo maximo caelestino* CIL. 6. 404), being symbolically represented in the form of a starry globe surmounted by an eagle holding the thunderbolt (with the inscription *Celum* underneath: on the stela of Heddernheim),² an allusion, as it seems, to the original heavenly nature of the supreme god of the Persians, who, as Herodotus says (1, 131), was the vault of heaven itself, according to the primitive naturalistic conception, opposed to the anthropomorphism of the Greeks. It is extremely interesting to find that a trace of this original conception of the divinity was preserved in Mithraism notwithstanding all the anthropomorphic suggestions of the western spirit depending on the tradition of the Graeco-Roman art.

Correspondingly also the god of the earth (Av. *Ārmatay*), that of fire (*Ātar*), that of water (*Apām napāt*) and that of air (*Vayu, Vāta*), who together with the Sun (Av. *Hvarxshaeta*) and with the Moon (*Māh*) formed part of the Iranian polytheism (Herod. 1, 131), are of course found on the Mithraic monuments under the well-known types and names of Juno³ (*regina* CIL. 6. 81 seq., 8. 4578), Vulcanus (mithræum of Sarrebourg), Neptunus, the Winds (stela of Carnuntum), together with the Sun and the Moon (p. 249). But beside Neptunus we have its more naturalis-

1 Cf. "Plat." *Alcib. prim.* 122 a; Aristot. fr. 6 Rose; Eudem. fr. 117; Plut., *de Is. et Osir.* 46.

2 Cumont II, fig. 289. The same idea expressed through the figure of Atlas; Cumont I, 90.

3 According to the primitive conception of the earth being the consort of the heaven: cf. Plut. *Artax.*, 23. Also *Tellus* is represented: Cumont I, 98.

tic parallel *Oceanus* (stela of Heddernheim), and beside the mythological figures of the elements their symbolic representations in the form of a serpent (earth), a krater (water), and the like.¹ The same system of double representations, mythological according to the types of the corresponding planetary divinities, and symbolic in the form of seven stars, or seven knives, or seven trees, or seven altars, or seven groups of knife+altar+Phrygian cap+tree, is applied also to the planets, which are, as we know (p. 231), an element of Babylonian origin.² The "infinite Time" (*Zrvan akarana*), another element of Babylonian origin (p. 232), was rendered in the West, as it seems, into *Saturnus*, Saturn being the equivalent of *Kronos*, who was identified with *Chronos* "Time": as the mythological repertorium of the Graeco-Roman art did not furnish any type for this god, Mithraism had recourse especially to a monstrous figuration (bearing some reminiscence of the ancient Assyrian art), i.e. the characteristic type of the winged leontocephalic monster, with the body surrounded by the rings of a serpent, and holding one or two keys in his hand. These keys are conceived as the keys of heaven, this being imagined, according to the Babylonian

1 Porphyr. *de antro nymph.* 18 παρὰ τῷ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς τέτακται. Less perspicuous is the representation of the air by means of a bird and of the fire by means of a lion.

2 Planets, constellations, and the four elements formed in Babylonia the system of the στοιχεῖα. In orthodox and rigorously dualistic Parsism the planets are the creatures of Ahriman and adversaries of the constellations, these being the creatures of Ormazd. On the contrary, in Mithraism both the planets and the constellations were worshipped. According to F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge 1915, II, 251 seq. (cf. *The lion-headed god of the Mithraic mysteries*, Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology, 1912, 125 seq.), the leontocephalic monster would represent Ahriman rather than Zrvan.

conception, as a vault traversed by two gates, one oriented to the east and the other to the west.

The eminently astral character of the Babylonian religion influenced, as we have seen (p. 231), also the figure of Mithra causing his assimilation with the Babylonian god of the Sun *Shamash*. A reflex of such an assimilation is to be found in western Mithraism in the constant formula of dedication: *deo Soli invicto Mithræ*. But as in general Mithraism under the incrustation of astrological and theological elements (which afterwards have been elaborated also in a speculative sense, especially from a stoical standpoint), possessed its own patrimony of ideas, its most intimate and most reserved doctrine, so particularly Mithra, in spite of his, so to say, exoteric and public assimilation with the Sun, was never, in the genuine form of Mithraism, completely identified with the Sun (cf. *Sol socius* CIL. 5. 5082; 3. 3384; 7. 1039). The Sun is represented on the Mithraic monuments as attending the great act of Mithra, i.e. the slaughter of the bull by Mithra (p. 249). By the presence of the Sun the extraordinary, transcendent, and cosmic character of this enterprise is revealed. It was not without reason that the great marble slab, on which the tauroctonia was represented occupied the place of honour in Mithraic sanctuaries, a place corresponding to that where in Greek and Roman temples the simulacrum of the worshipped divinity was situated. But neither the picture of Mithra tauroctonos is a sacred simulacrum, nor the Mithraic sanctuary a temple in the proper sense of the word. Here also the spirit of the ancient Persian religion is reflected, which had got no temples (Herod. 1. 131), precisely because it had not got images of the gods, and it had not got images of the gods, because it did not conceive the divinity in an anthropomorphic form (p. 232).¹

1 Cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 49 seq.

• The Mithraic sanctuaries are designated as *ἄντρον*, *spelaeum*, *specus*, *spelunca*, (and only by way of extension as *templum*, *aedes*). Thus they must have been originally grottos. The same type was afterwards produced artificially, either by accommodating natural spots or pre-existing constructions, or by constructing *ex novo* a subterranean or semisubterranean crypt, which was reached by descending a staircase. It was capacious, with some exceptions,¹ for about hundred persons at the maximum. It is this lack of room that made the construction of more than one mithræum necessary, where the community was very numerous. At its further end facing the entrance, in a sort of a niche (often rounded in the form of an apse), at the point where the glances of the devotees kneeling on two lateral benches conveyed, stood the figure of Mithra tauroctonos represented in relief on a marble slab, sometimes turning on itself, and in such a case sculptured also on the other side.²

This niche, as a sort of *sancta sanctorum*, and the whole crypt was in a certain sense a world in itself, a universe in miniature: when there assembled the faithful ones felt themselves transported in a supermundane sphere. The vault of the crypt pierced, as in the case of the mithræum of St. Clement in Rome by openings, from where the divine light descended, was the vault of heaven itself. The most holy symbols arranged about on the walls and the end, the Sun and the Moon, attending the exploits of Mithra (the Sun on his left and the Moon on his right); the planets and the signs of the zodiac, generally gathered along the upper border of the central slab, the planetary

1 Cumont I, 53 seq.

2 Mithræum of Heddernheim (Cumont II, pl. 5, 6); relief from Tuscan in Val di Non (Archivio Trentino, 24. 1909, pl. 11, fig. 2, 3); cf. the relief of Konjiza in Bosnia (Cumont I, fig. 10): v. a. n. 73.

stations indicated on the floor (as in the mithræum of Ostia¹), all the figurations (*portentosa simulacra*: Hieronym. *epist.* 107 *ad Laetam*) running on the walls, made the holy place a sort of microcosm in which the whole universe was abridged.

A series of scenes represented in relief framed often in whole or in part the great central scene of the *tauroctonia*. Far from being unconnected with each other, they joined as successive scenes of a continuous narrative, like the graphic illustration of a text, perhaps of some of those texts which during the development of a liturgical action were recited according to the ancient Persian custom, as evidenced by Herodotus (1. 131), texts which must have been of a mythical character since Herodotus qualifies them as "theogonies" (ἐπαείδει θεογονίην). Divine figures, scenes of the myth, especially of the cosmogonic myth, are in fact represented by these scenes: episodes of the ancient Iranian legends about the origin of the world, episodes of the myth of Mithra. We have not got other notices of these myths than those furnished by the sacred books of Parsism (p. 227), these later compositions, like the *Bundahish*, drawing, however, their informations from older scriptures. The Mithraic texts are lost, lost are also the translations, which certainly once existed of them, in Greek (and afterwards probably in Latin). An only verse from a Mithraic hymn in Greek has been transmitted to us by Firmicus Maternus (*de err. prof. relig.* 5) which says: μύστα βοοκλοπίης, συνλέξε πατρός ἀγαθοῦ² (Ziegler) "O initiated one in the mystery of the theft of the bull, colleague of an illustrious father".

1 Cumont II, fig. 77; cf. Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 5 seq.

2 Cumont I, 159 seq.; cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*², 53, 218.

Now this very verse receives a graphic illustration from an episode of the figured legend of Mithra, represented in various mithræa. It depicts Mithra exactly in the act of dragging a bull furtively, as it were, by its hind legs: a motive, which seems to have originated from the primitive Indo-European myth, since he is also met with in the Latin myth of *Cacus* as well as in the Greek myth of *Herakles*.¹ This exploit of Mithra was only an episode of his complex legend,² which began with the miraculous birth of the god from a rock (*petrae genetrici* CIL. 3. 4424, 8679),³ then related the miracle of water, made to flow from the rock by an arrow's shot. (this being perhaps an allusion to the heavenly rain-waters, fertilising the earth),⁴ then included, as it seems, another particularly painful and hard exploit designated as *transitus* "a crossing" (on the inscriptions of Pettau: *invicto Mithrae et p. 251 transitu dei*),⁵ and finally culminated in the exploit concerning the bull.

An important moment of that exploit was the *taurophoria*, the furtive dragging of the bull after its capture. But the capital moment of the whole legend, that in which all other episodes converged, was the final *tauroctonia*⁶;

1 Cf. Commodian. *instruct.* 1. 13 v. 9 *vertebatque bores alienos semper in antris Sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille.*

2 About the legend of Mithra: Toutain, *La légende de Mithra*, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 45 (1902), 141 seq.

3 Cf. the formula $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ Firm. Mat. *de err. pr. rel.* 20. A small stela of conic form—a conventional representation of a rock—formed part of the *paraphernalia* of the Mithraic sanctuaries: Cumont I, 159 seq.

4 A natural source, or an artificial aqueduct or otherwise a basin of water constantly placed in proximity of or inside the mithræa: Cumont I, 55 n. 3; cf. 165.

5 *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, 2. 1899, Beibl. 96 and 97.

6 Only the two scenes of the *taurophoria* and the *tauroctonia* are represented—almost as a compendium and abbreviation of the whole cycle—on the cup of Lanuvium: Cumont II, fig. 80.

to it the place of honour was reserved in all mithræa; it was reproduced in hundreds of copies, even vulgar and coarse in their execution, being intended for the private use and adoration of the single devotees, who saw in them the supreme truths of the religion represented. The scene had as a background a grotto, because the slaughter of the bull took place exactly within the grotto, where Mithra had dragged it. That it could not be an ordinary bull, but an exceptional being, is indicated by the fact that generally his tail, erected almost in a last convulsive effort, ends in a bundle of ears of corn: in a monument of the epoch of Trajan, one of the oldest known (Cumont II, fig. 59; cf. p. 483), the ears come up from the blood of the bull, which flows from the mortal wound inflicted by the god. It is, as it was understood by Anquetil du Perron as early as in the eighteenth century, the vegetal life, compendiated so to say in the corn, which originates from the death of the bull. The bull slain by Mithra is the cosmic bull, the primigenous bull created by Ahura Mazda, which according to the ancient Iranian belief (p. 227) while dying generated from its body the whole vegetable world and especially the corn from its spinal-marrow.

This and other kindred cosmogonic and anthropogonic beliefs are evidenced in Parsism (*Yasna* 26, 10; cf. *Yasht* p. 252 13, 86) especially in the later theological literature of Parsism written in *Pehlevi* (*Bundahish*), e.g. the belief that from the primitive bull, and precisely from his sperma, which was carried to the Moon and purified there, all species of animals were born, further the parallel belief that, from the primigenous man *Gaya* or *Gayomart*, himself a creature of Ahura Mazda (p. 227), the human genus was born, to the effect that two plants have been produced from two drops of his sperm, which have

thereupon developed themselves in the human form becoming the first human pair *Mashya* and *Mashyoi*. But Parsism itself, apart from the chronology of its scriptures, cannot represent the genuine and primitive Iranian belief on account of its very spirit, which is that of the religion as resulting from the reform of Zarathushtra. The rigorously dualistic spirit of Zoroastrianism based on the cosmic strife between Ohrmazd and Ahriman is responsible for the fact that in Parsism the primigenous bull was the victim of Ahriman. For a religion which prohibited the slaughter of cattle (p. 224) nothing was more natural than to attribute the death of the first bull to the principle of evil, impersonated in Ahriman. But primitively the killing of a bull or in general of an ox was a solemn sacrifice, a holy act of the Iranian religion. This much is true that as such it maintained itself among the Persians, and precisely in connection with the cult of Mithra (p. 223-224). Correspondingly in the primitive myth in which that bloody rite was reflected the primigenous bull, the prototype and the anticipation of all cattle sacrificed, was not slain by Ahriman, but by Mithra himself, who through that act, which far from being unseemly, was quite in conformity with the dignity of a god, came to assume p. 253 indirectly the functions of a creator, being the author of that death from which the life was born,¹ as precisely from the ritual sacrifice of the bull a life was generated, by which the fertility of the fields and the fecundity of the whole nature was increased. Thus that bundle of the ears of corn, which, being a strange ornament indeed for a bull-tail, shall have inspired pious meditations to the devotees of Mithra dispersed along the banks of the Danube,

1 Εἰκόνα φέροντος τοῦ στηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃν ὁ Μῆθρας ἐδημιούργησε Porphyr. *de antro nymph.* 5; cf. 24: ὡς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος δημιουργὸς ὢν (ὁ Μῆθρας) καὶ γενέσεως δεσπότης.

of the Rhine and of the Thames as well, receives its explanation as to its origin and its very being, as the survivance of an agrarian rite, which had been celebrated by agriculturists and shepherds some thousands of years ago on the mountains of Iran. By agrarian origins of Mithraism the animals also which participate in various ways in the great fact of the tauroctonia on the Mithraic reliefs will perhaps be explained: i.e. the scorpion which grips and bites the testicles of the bull in the vain intention of impeding the effusion of the generating liquid; the ant, which is sometimes, though much more seldom, associated with the scorpion (e.g. in the relief of Villa Albani: Cumont II. fig. 45); the serpent, which frequently however does not seem to participate in the action; and the dog, which jumps up in order, as it were, to lick up the blood flowing from the wound. All this zoology, differently from that which in the sculptures of the Hellenistic age served simply to accentuate, according to the taste of the epoch, the picturesque aspect of the background, has on the Mithraic monuments a special value and signification. In Zoroastrianism the dog being the creature of Ahura

p. 254 Mazda appertains to the good order, whereas the scorpion, the ant, and the serpent appertain to the wicked order as creatures of Ahriman (*Vendidad* 14. 5; *Bundahish* 3. 15). Once again it is to be considered whether Zoroastrianism has not applied here also the scheme of its moralistic dualism¹ to some categories which already existed in traditional belief and custom (κτείνοντες μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἰῶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά Herod. 1. 140; cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46), having been originated in a primitive belief, in a primitive society and in a primitive economy,

1 As for the application of the Persian dualistic system to the terminology and lexicon, cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 144 n. 15.

in which agriculture had the maximum value, and consequently useful animals, like the dog, were considered good, and animals noxious to the agricultural life and to the prosperity of the harvest, like the reptiles, ants, and scorpions, were considered wicked.

There is then at the root of Mithraism a nucleus of agrarian religiosity, of that religiosity from which the mysteries were originated (this thesis is developed throughout the present work "I Misteri"). If on the contrary in Mithraic mysteries the titular deity is a god of heaven, *i.e.* Mithra (p. 220), we are now able to explain by which historic process this fact was produced.

In the mithræum of Heddernheim, the first mithræum discovered in 1326, the great Mithraic slab, being one of the very few that are sculptured on both sides (p. 249), bears on the *verso* a further scene alluding to the same great fact, *i.e.* the death of the bull, with all its consequences, which is represented on the *recto* (Cumont II, pl. VIII): various divine figures (Mithra with a drinking horn in hand; two youths, cf. *Cautes* and *Cautopates*: p. 245, p. 255 with the tunic full of fruits) one of whom offers Mithra a bunch of grapes, stand around the corpse of the bull lying on the ground. On the Mithraic relief of Sarrebourg Bacchus is represented among other divine figures¹ (Cumont II, pl. IX). Bacchus is to be regarded here as an equivalent or a substitute of the Iranian god *Haoma*, who was a personification and deification of the sacred intoxicating drink, pressed from the homonymous plant (Vedic *Soma*.; p. 225): this drink, which in Cappadocia was substituted, it seems, by another of analogous effect (this being extracted perhaps from the herb *moly*),² must have had in the West wine as its natural substitute. The vine itself, according

¹ Cumont I, p. 146. seq.

² Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46: cf. Cumont II, 33 seq., 1, 24.

to the Iranian tradition preserved in Zoroastrianism, had been originated like all other plants from the body of the primigenous bull, precisely from its blood (*Bundahish* 14. 1). But also here what stands behind Zoroastrianism is the primitive Iranian religion, in which *Haoma* or some other intoxicating drink might have been enjoyed (p. 225) precisely on the occasion of those agrarian rites, which culminated in the slaughter of the bull. Those rites might have got a certain orgiastic character, and might have given room for experiences of a rudimentary mysticism, which when remembered were fit to create in the minds of those participating in them, the idea of a perennial beatitude, naturally projected in the plain of a future life and of an ultramundane world.

p. 256 This primitive Iranian eschatology was oriented towards heaven (p. 226), just as in the belief of other peoples heaven, or at any rate a place different from hell (*e.g.* among the Greeks the "island of the blessed ones" situated to the end of the earth towards the west) received in an ultramundane existence the brave, or the pious, or the elected ones, or in general those who, according to a primitive mentality, were at any rate the best ones. In the primitive myth which projected the ritual sacrifice of the bull at the beginning (afterwards also at the end—pp. 227-228) of the world, the primigenous bull from whom the animal as well as the vegetable life was originated, this holy, generous and precious victim, came to life again in as much as its soul lived in heaven. Thus its destiny assumed a prototypic and ideal value for all those who participated on earth in the bloody sacrifice and in intoxicating libations, which accompanied it, thus getting an elevation of spirit and a hope of a similar destiny.

A tradition is preserved also in Zoroastrianism of the soul of the bull, ascending after its death through the

celestial regions upto the sphere of the Sun and obtaining from Ahura Mazda the promise of the sending of Zarathushtra into the world (*Bundahish* 4. 2). Already in the *Gathas*, *Geush urvan* "the soul of the bull", and *Geush tashan* "the fashioner of the bull" appear as (masculine) divine beings, who, preoccupied with the lot of the bovine species harassed by the unbelievers, are finally appeased by the promise that Ahura Mazda will send Zarathushtra into the world, who will prohibit bloody sacrifices (*Yasna* 29. 1, 2). Here as in many other cases Zoroastrianism does not only adopt, through assimilating them to its own spirit, the elements of a primitive eschatology, but having previously abolished the libations of *Haoma*, finally it adopted them and celebrated *Haoma* itself in terms, through which its original eschatological value is reflected: e.g. *Haoma* having the power "to prepare the way for the soul" (*Yasna* 9. 14), with reference to the long journey across the heavens (*Yasna* 9. 19), *Haoma* having the virtue of "keeping death apart," and of conferring P. 267 immortality (*Yasna* 9); the (white) *Haoma*, which when mixed with the fat of the *Hadhayosh* bull, immolated by *Saoshyant* "the Savior" at the end of times, will render the bodies of the resurrected just men immortal: *Bundahish* 30. 5.

In a systematic dualistic religion like Zoroastrianism the eschatological elements also were more clearly polarised according to the two cardinal categories of the good and of the evil, whereby the old celestial eschatology was naturally assigned to the former as well as the chthonic one to the latter. Likewise, as Zoroastrianism was a founded religion, its whole eschatology and soteriology also was dominated by the figure of its founder. Zarathushtra was the savior of humanity, and *Saoshyant* himself "the Savior," who will come at the end of times to crown the work of

salvation, will be a future son of Zarathushtra; he will be born of a virgin who will take a bath in a lake, where the sperm of Zarathushtra is preserved. In the traditional and popular Persian religion, on the contrary, the sacrifice of the bull had as a rite an actual and immediate value for the increase of life of nature, as well as in mythological projection it assumed a prototypic value for the best ultramundane destiny of beings, who through the death of the bull had been called to life (ψυχὰὶ δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἰοῦσαν βουγενεῖς Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 18). Thus when Mithra, the ancient sky-god, either as a liberal giver of rain-waters (on which the fertility of the fields depended),¹ or simply as the lord of those celestial regions, which the souls had to traverse when going up from the earth to the empyreum, or by some other reason unknown to us, came to be associated in the cult with that agrarian sacrifice, which was destined to fertilise the earth, and with those intoxicating ritual libations which were able to suggest the experience of a celestial felicity, and thence correspondingly in the myth—was he not perhaps the first man who in the primitive myth sacrificed the first bull? and has not Mithra taken precisely the place of the first man or of other divine being?—he figured precisely as the killer of the bull and as the author of such a vivifying death. Then, while indirectly becoming, by way of this association, a sort of a creator, and of a demiurge (p. 253), indirectly also he came to be invested with a soteriological function, thus starting towards his transformation into a savior of humanity, such as Zarathushtra was in the Zoroastrian religion.

This is in fact a singular and characteristic feature of the Iranian religious history, that not one but two religions of salvation developed themselves out of the old and common ground of the primitive traditional religion, *viz* Zoroas-

1 Toutain, *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 45 (1902), 152.

trianism and Mithraism. They are two religions of a quite different spirit indeed : the former claims its origin from a historical founder, the latter is on the contrary the development of the national Persian religion ; the former represents the reform, the latter the tradition ; in the former the savior is a historical personage (in spite of his deification and the eventually mythical origin of his name), in the latter he is a god ; further, a conspicuous sign of this essential diversity is precisely the fact that in the former the killing of the bull is the work of the most execrable demon, in the latter it is the work of the most venerated god. Both were, as said above, religions of salvation, the former however was born as such through the work of its founder, the latter on the contrary became such through p. 259 a slow process whose achievement was helped by the co-operation of external favourable circumstances. It was in fact especially at the epoch of the foreign domination and the consequent " diaspora " (p. 233), that the Persian religion, uprooted from its original soil and from the national surroundings, developed in the greatest degree the aspects of the individual and interior religiosity, and deepening its eschatological hopes as well as its soteriological aspirations, underwent a process of interiorisation, through which, and through ethnical isolation in a foreign land, it came to be transformed into a mystery. Such was Mithraism, i.e. a mystery of Mithra, where the true mystical elements, sprang up from that primitive agrarian religiosity, which is to be found at the basis of all the mysterious religions ; and it was only by way of his association with these elements that Mithra became the titular god of the Persian mysteries.

A diversity which the Mithraic mysteries show in comparison with other mysteries corresponds to its special history sketched above. In the mysteries of Mithra as

well as in those of Demeter and of Dionysos, of Sabazios, of Attis, of Osiris, and of Adonis, the essential value, the intimate and deep human value, apart from all speculative, and more or less exotic superstructure, was the word of salvation, the vivifying promise, the eschatological hope of a second blessed life, which they were able to say to the devotees. Mithra also became in Mithraism the savior of the human species (*Mithra salutaris* CIL. 14. 3568): being in a special sense intermediate between heaven and earth (p. 260) (μεσίτης Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 46), he became also in a religious sense the mediator between humanity and deity; being subordinated to the supreme god (also in Zoroastrianism, as a *yazata* (p. 223) and a minister of the divine will (even the killing of the bull in the Mithraic scenes was performed by him, as it seems, in consequence of a message from heaven transmitted to him by the raven: Cumont I, 192), he was the intercessor, the succourer of men in life (θεῶ ἐπιχόω inser. Cumont II, p. 469, n. 223 a; *numini presenti* CIL. 14. 3567), as well as the guide of the souls in their upward voyage after death (cf. ἡγεμόνα θεόν Julian. *Caes.* 336 c).

But in other mysteries salvation is conceived as a new life which commences, as a death and a rebirth, a rebirth which is obtained by means of the assimilation of the man to be initiated with the god, who was dead and who is reborn. This assimilation is effectuated by means of a series of rites (forming the initiation), which are intended to reproduce on the person to be initiated exactly the same vicissitudes through which the god had passed. It is, in substance, the periodic change of vegetation, with its disappearances and its returns, which is reflected in the myth of the god, and thence in the rites applied to the man, the very reason being that the god is a divinity of vegetation, and agriculture is at the very basis of the mysteries.

But Mithra is not a god of vegetation; he does not appertain to the earth, but to the heaven. As such he does not die and is not reborn. If Mithra also *evokes an idea of resurrection* (*imaginem resurrectionis inducit*: Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), if in the Mithraic mysteries also there was some rite simulating a death (otherwise Emperor Commodus could not have killed some one really: *sacra mithriaca homicidio vero polluit* Lamprid. *Commodus* 9) and necessarily a resurrection, these were no reflexes of the myth of Mithra, but they are on the contrary elements pertaining to the primitive agrarian religiosity, inherited by Mithra as the titular god of the mysteries. It was not the assimilation of the person to be initiated with the god, his union with Mithra that these rites aimed to effectuate. In Mithraism the worshippers and devotees did not assume the names of the god as in other mysteries (*Saboi* and *Sabai*, *Attis*, *Osiris*). Mithra preserved always his transcendent position before man. His working as savior consisted above all in aiding and assisting man in his aspirations towards the hereafter and in guiding at last the soul to the celestial abodes. Not the assimilation with the god, but the protection of the god, his friendship and benevolence to the effect of salvation, this was the hope cultivated in the mysteries; the friendship of the god received its visible mark in the pressing of the hand between Mithra and the devotee, as already represented (Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*³ p. 15, f. 1) in the monument (p. 238) of Antiochos of Comagene and afterwards frequently reproduced in the figurations of European mithraea (e.g. on the stela of Virunum: Cumont II, f. 213).

Now we understand the very significance of those astral and planetary symbols, which were scattered on the walls of the crypts and even on the floor, so that the crypt itself appeared nearly to be a symbolic representation of the

whole universe (p. 249). They formed the cosmic background, on which the greatest event of the Mithraic initiation, and above all the triumphal ascent of the soul across the heavens and the interstellar spaces, naturally came to be projected. Not only the Sun, the Moon and the planets were depicted here and there, but also a symbolic staircase p. 262 (σύμβολον) with eight gates (κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ πύλῃ ὁγδόη Cels. ap. Origin., *contr. Cels.* 6. 22), formed part, as it seems, of the sacred decoration.¹ These are certainly the gates of the seven planetary spheres (p. 231) with that of the superposed empyreum, through which the soul had to pass on her ultramundane journey, and which were to be opened only by virtue of certain formulæ known, as it seems, only by the initiated ones.² Seven were also the grades of the initiatic career, this being, so to say, an anticipation during the life of the journey of the soul across the seven spheres after death.³

Corax, cryphius, miles, leo, perses, heliodromus and *pater* are the names of the seven grades of the initiated, transmitted by St. Hieronymus (epist. 107 *ad Laetam*) and evidenced by the inscriptions.⁴ They are a document of the Greek terminology which, once adopted in Mithraism (p. 240), maintained itself also in the Latin world. *Corax* is Greek (*tradidit hierocoracica* CIL. 6. 751 b; *coracina sacra*, "Ambros" *in ep. ad. Rom.* v. 22) and means

1 Yast, 10, 61. Cf. Cumont I, 118 n. 1; Toutain, *l. cit.*

2 Arnob. *adv. nat.* 2. 62 *magi spondent commendaticias habere se praeceps quibus emollitae nescio quae potestates vias faciles praebeant ad caelum contententibus subvolare*; cf. 2. 13 (Cumont I, 39 n. 7).

3 Cf. G. Lafaye, *L'initiation mithriaque*, Conférences au Musée Guimet, vol. 18 (1906).

4 Cumont II, 535. Only the inscriptions (*ostenderunt cryphios* CIL 6. 751 a; *tradiderunt chryphios* (sic) CIL 6. 753) give the exact name of the second grade, which in the text of Hieronymus (*nymphus*, whence the conjecture *gryphus*) is incorrectly written.

"raven" (p. 260). *Cryphius* is Greek and means "occult", the term containing perhaps an allusion to some rite in which the initiated one of the second grade, previously concealed, at a given moment was shown, and so to say, revealed (*ostenderunt cryphos* CIL. 6. 751 a). *Heliodromus* (*tradiderunt [h]eliaca* CIL. 6. 750) is Greek and bears an allusion to the course of the Sun. *Miles* is Latin (CIL. 13. 7570 d, seq.)¹ and refers not so much to a discipline of the mysteries in general considered as a militant service (p. 179), as to the military character of Mithraism itself as the religion of the warlike and invincible (p. 245) god, who was worshipped specially by soldiers (p. 248). As regards the other three grades whose names are so much Greek as p. 263 Latin, that of *leo*, which is most frequently mentioned in inscriptions (*tradiderunt leontica* CIL. 6, 749, 752 seq.),² was perhaps the grade, which introduced the candidate into the superior order of the initiatic hierarchy of the mysteries, whereas the first three grades constituted, it seems, a sort of an inferior initiation (ὑπηγετοῦντες "servants", as opposed to μετέχοντες "participating ones": Porphy. *de abst.* 4. 16). The name *perses* (*tradiderunt persica* CIL. 6. 750; πέρσης Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 15) was a token of the exotic origin of the Mithraic cult, and of its national character, which, far from being lost during the diaspora, was rather accentuated through isolation, so that, if an allogenuous person was once admitted in the mysteries, he assumed automatically the Persian nationality (p. 237). *Pater* or *pater sacrorum* (*tradiderunt patrica* CIL. 6. 751 a) was the title of those initiated into the highest grade (*patres* CIL. 5. 805), whose chief was

1 Cf. the inscription *Revue de l'hist. des relig.* 64. 1911, 179 seq. and Tertull. *de corona* 15. (W. S. P. Adams, *The problem of the Mithraic grades*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 2. 1912, 52; Gumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*³, 240).

2 τὰ λεονικά Porphy. *de antro nymph.* 15; *de abst.* 4. 16.

called *pater patrum* (CIL. 6. 749 seq.)¹ or *pater patratus* (CIL. 5. 5795). To this corresponded the name of *fratres* (CIL. 6. 727; 3. 3415), which the initiated ones (of the same grade?) gave themselves in their mutual relations, whereas the generic and common term was that of *sacрати* (CIL. 6. 730, 737, 742; cf. *con[se]cranei* CIL. 7. 1039), i.e. "the sworn ones", in relation to the military character of the Mithraic institutions which exacted from the initiated ones (like an army, from the recruits) also an oath, e.g. of not revealing things of the mysteries. Thus the initiation came to be a *sacramentum*, i.e. an "oath" (cf. Tertull. *de corona* 15).

p. 264 The constitution of this hierarchy might have already been definitive in Anatolia, before Mithraism began to be diffused in the West (p. 241). Possibly the fixing of the grades to the number of seven was indirectly owing to the Babylonian influence (p. 230 seq.). But although the place and the precise time, in which this Mithraic hierarchy was formed is unknown, there is a nucleus, so to say, which in every probability went up to the most ancient phases of the Iranian religion and precisely to those agrarian rites, to which also the first nucleus of the Mithraic doctrine is to be traced (p. 235). Certain rites of the first admission (*acceptio*) and others with which the successive grades were conferred (*traditio*), rites which early assumed and, particularly in the West, maintained themselves as proofs destined to test the courage and intrepidity of the candidate,² probably had from the beginning a sacred

1 Also a *pater leonum* CIL II, 5737 and a *patrem patratum leonem* CIL 2. 2705. *Magistri* existed, as it seems, for every grade (CIL 6, 47, 717, 734, 1675).

2 Lamprid. *Commod.* 9. 6 *cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat*; cf. the passage of Nonnos the mythology quoted by Cumont II, 27 b. The "tortures" and the "pains", numerous and prolonged (80 according to Nonnos, Cumont II, 27 a, among which

value in accordance with a symbolic death and resurrection of the would-be initiate (p. 260). *E.g.* the would-be initiate had to, with blindfolded eyes and hands bound behind the back by a cord made of the intestines of the hen (*intestinis pullinis*), to jump over a ditch full of water, whereupon the bonds were severed with a sword by a "liberator".¹

Another rite, perhaps the very rite whereby the grade of *miles* was conferred, consisted, it seems, in the exhibition of a sword stained with blood,² this being an attenuated form of some bloody operation, which the would-be initiate had originally to undergo: the candidate put on the head a crown, which was presented to him through a sword; thereupon he took it off, and renounced for ever to wear another, because his crown was Mithra, to whom alone, as invincible, belonged the insignia of victory (Tertull. *de corona* 15). As, moreover, the *miles* was stamped, it seems, p. 265 with a mark on the forehead (*Mithra signat in frontibus milites suos* Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), it was perhaps a far-off heritage of an old tattooage, such as that we meet with also in the mysteries of Attis (p. 111 seq.). In the passage to the grade of *leo* honey was poured on the hand and on the tongue of the candidate; and honey was also used in the bestowal of the grade of *Perses* (Porphy. *de antro nymphae*. 15).

hunger and thirst, passing across fire, immersion into water for twenty days, fasting for fifty days: Cummont I, 322) are later amplifications of Christian writers (as well as the legend of the sacrifice of children).

1 "August." *quaest. vet. et nov. testam.* Migne t. 34 p. 2214=. Cumont II, 7-8. Among the numerous bones of animals (cattle, sheep, pigs; also wolves, in honour of Ahriman: cf. above p. 245) which were found in the proximity of several mithraea, and which bear a witness of the persistence of the ancient bloody sacrifices, *e.g.* of the bull (according to the Avesta, *Yast* 10, 119 to Mithra "great and small animals and fowls" were sacrificed), also the bones of fowls are abundant, especially of pullets (Cumont I, 68 seq.).

2 Passage of Zacharias Scholasticus quoted by Cumont I, 361.

These names "lions" and "ravens", as well as those of other grades, e.g. "eagles" and "falcons",¹ having existed, as it seems, in the first phase of Mithraism anterior to the definitive systemisation of the hierarchy, all these animal names appear as a survivance of a most archaic custom, which, as it is common with ancient and modern primitive peoples (Thracians: p. 63),² might have been practised also by Iranian peoples, among whom perhaps those participating in the most solemn agrarian sacrifices of the bull or other victims, and in the concomitant intoxicating libations of the *Haoma* used to disguise themselves in the exterior aspect by putting on an animal costume (p. 224 seq.). In fact upto the last day of Mithraism, in the third and the fourth century A.D., the initiated who was admitted into the grade of the "lion" disguised himself in various animal shapes (Porphyr. *de abstin.* 4, 16 ὁ τε τὰ λεοντικὰ παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζώων μορφάς). And not only in the costume, but also in crying, gesture and bearing did the initiates imitate the animals by which their respective grade was denominated (*alii autem sicut*

1 Ἀετός and ἰέραξ on several inscriptions of Lycaonia: Cumont II, 172 seq.; cf. *Les myst. de Mithra*³ 36 in nota. Cf. ἀετοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰέρακες Porphyr. *de abstin.* 4, 16; also "hyenas" (ὑαίνας *ibid.*; perhaps to be read λεαίνας)? Cf. *quae lea jacet* in an inscription of Tripolis: Clermont-Ganneau, C. Rend. Ac. Inscr. 1903, 361, which would bear evidence of a Mithraic grade conferred by a woman (perhaps a survival of a primitive phase in which the women were also admitted?), whereas in general women were excluded from the Mithraic communities. On the effective existence of a Mithraic grade of the "eagle": Boll, *Der Adler als Mystengrad*, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 19, (1919), 553.

2 For the Mycenaean Greece, cf. the mural painting from Mycenae Ἐφην. ἀρχ. 1887, pl. 10, 1; cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 72 seq.

avēs alas per cutiunt vocem coracis imitantes, alii vero leonem more fremunt: Augustin. *quaest. vet. et novi tes.* p. 266 tam. Migne vol. 34, p. 2214 seq.), just as even to-day the "savages" do; and we know that the "savages" also have secret societies with initiatic grades.¹ A monument which integrates and confirms the literary evidence is extremely interesting for this subject. In a relief, one of the very few which are sculptured on both sides (p. 249), coming from a mithræum discovered at Konjiza in Bosnia,² several initiates of various grades are represented attending a banquet: the "raven" and the "lion" are distinguished from the others, (i.e. from a "Persian" with a Phrygian cap and perhaps a "soldier"), because they wear a mask in the form of the head of a raven and of that of a lion respectively.

In the banquet scene represented on the relief of Konjiza there are two table-companions, lying the one beside the other, with a small table before them on which four breads are served. One of them is holding in his hand a *rhyton* or drinking-horn, and a "Persian" is approaching him with another *rhyton*. One of these two table-companions is probably an initiate and the other a priest, or at any rate a senior. This was probably the rite of admission into the supreme order of the hierarchy, that which conferred the whole or perfect (cf. *μετέχοντες*: p. 263) participation of the benefices of religion, that which crowned the initiating career after the manifold tests of the preceding grades. The bread and the wine (for which the *rhyton* must have served, cf. p. 254) alluded to the incomparable sacrifice of the primigenous bull, the bread (*panis oblation-*

1 H. Webster, *Società segrete primitive* ("Storia delle religioni" 2) Bologna, 1922.

2 Patsch, *Wissensch. Mitteil. aus Bosnien u. der Hercegovina* 6. 1899, 191 seq. pl. XII. Cf. CIL 3. 14617 and 14222¹. Cf. Cumont I, 175; *Myst. de Mithra*², 164.

em: Tertull. *de praescr. haeter.* 40) as made of the grain sprung up from the spinal marrow of the bull (p. 251), and the wine (mixed with water: ἄροτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος Justin. *apolog.* 1, 66) as derived from the vine sprung up from its blood (p. 255).

p. 247 In such a mystic banquet an echo was thus perpetuated of those most ancient agrarian rites in which the worshippers, after the sacrifice had taken place, probably eat the meat of the victim (p. 62 seq.), just as they partook in the exalting libations of *Haoma* (p. 225) (respectively of wine p. 255), forming part of the sacrifice itself. Also this culminating act of the Mithraic initiation, this holy banquet of participation, *i.e.* of communion, was sprung up from that primitive religiosity, in which the worshipper by absorbing the very nature of the victim came in some manner to share in its destiny. But this primitive and archaic element was now nothing but a survival having lost its original value, since Mithra had been associated with the ancient agrarian religiosity, more and more preponderating therein and finally becoming the central figure of Mithraism (p. 258). Therefore, as said above, in the whole system of the Mithraic mysteries the dominating idea was not, as in other mysteries, the assimilation of man to god, the participation in the divine nature, but the protection and assistance by the god (p. 261). Therefore also the culminating rite of the mystical banquet was not felt so much as an intimate and individual transubstantiation, but rather as the supreme grace of the god, who deigned to make himself a table-companion of man, a cherished sign of his friendship and a secure pledge of salvation. As such, in fact, the mystic banquet had also its mystical projection in the legend of Mithra; in fact, among the scenes illustrating the divine myth of Mithra there is one, reproduced in several *mithraea*, in which Mithra is seen, in his character-

p. 268

istic costume, sitting at a banquet together with another figure (sometimes also with the participation of many others).¹

This figure is characteristic of a whole group of scenes, in which, notwithstanding the variety of situations, not always and not all of them explicable in a satisfactory way, it wears generally a radiating crown; sometimes the crown lies on the ground. If this figure is the Sun, as it seems (cf. *Sol socius*: p. 248), it is to be admitted, at any rate, that very probably here the Sun is the prototype of the initiated, and the various situations in which he is represented in relation to Mithra are prototypes of the ceremonies of the initiation. Just as in the scene in which the crown, instead of being on the head of the "Sun", lies on the ground (Osterburken: Cumont II, pl. VI), the ceremony of the bestowal of the grade of "soldier" (p. 264) is probably represented, so the scene of the banquet is probably to be understood as a mythical anticipation of the initiatic agapae, so as it is realistically represented on the relief of Konjiza: here, as the figure of the initiate corresponds to the "Sun", the other figure, corresponding to Mithra, would be that of such a personage, who was most fit to represent a god, e.g. a *pater* (*patrum*) or more probably a priest (*sacerdos* CIL. 14. 64; 11. 5736; 5. 5893; *antistes* CIL. 14. 66),² this being the heir and successor of the ancient Magi (cf. ἐπαγόμενοι Μίδον: see note 1 on page 169).

The scene of the banquet, judging from the position it occupies in the figured cycle of Mithra, must have represented a conclusive moment in the legendary vicissitudes of the god. But the real final episode is represented by a scene in which once again the two figures, p 269

1 Cumont I, 174 seq.

2 The *sacerdotes* were often also *patres*, CIL 6. 738, 2271, 3727.

that of the "Sun" and that of Mithra, occur mounted or in the act of mounting a chariot ready for the course. This scene is evidently the prototype of the ultramundane journey of the soul of the initiate, who realised after death that which had been his constant aspiration in his life, i.e. the resurrection in another immortal life and the ascension, under the guidance of Mithra, across the heavenly spheres towards the regions of sempiternal beatitude.¹

It was natural that the Mithraic banquet with bread and wine as its basis appears to the Christians to be a diabolic counterfeiting of the Eucharistic sacrament (Justin. *apolog.* 1. 66; cf. Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40). Let us add to this the sign (p. 264-5) impressed on the forehead of the third grade initiates (Tertull. *de corona* 15), corresponding to the Christian *chrism*; further the initiatic ablutions, similar to the baptism, having the virtue of cancelling sins (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40), and the belief in the resurrection of the righteous ones and the celebration of "the day of the Sun" (*dies Solis*), coinciding with the "day of the Lord" (Tertull. *apolog.* 16; *ad nation.* 13); and finally, the celebration of the birth-day of the Sun (*natalis Solis*) on the winter-solstice (after which the day becomes longer than the night), coinciding with the nativity of Jesus.² Let us leave aside the question of priority, which arises from every one of these concordances. The fact is this that of all mysteric

1 On the metempsychosis in Mithraism, possibly 'witnessed by Porphyry, *de abst.* 4, 16 (quoting Πάλλας ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Μίθρα), cf. Cumont I, 40 seq.

2 Cumont I, 119, 342 n. 4; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*², 250 seq.; Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*² (1911), 348; Cumont *Compt. rend. Acad. Inscr. B.* L. 1911, 292; M. P. Nilsson, *Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* 19 (1910), 50 seq.

religions Mithraism is the one which shows the greatest similarities with Christianity. Even that spirit of exclusivism which was for Christianity one of the capital factors of the victory would not have been thoroughly foreign to p. 270 Mithraism, if the case mentioned by Eunapius of a personage invested with the highest functions in the Mithraic mysteries,¹ who had taken a secret oath of not presiding at other mysteries, could be generalised (ἐτέρον ἱερῶν μὴ πορεύεσθαι. Eunap. *vita sophist.* p. 475 Boisson). A norm of this kind, in case it effectively existed, would not have been observed at any rate neither everywhere nor constantly; in face of the progress of Christianity Mithraism itself was always more attracted in the orbit of other pagan mysteries, which sought in vain to oppose against Christian exclusivism the efforts of their united force (CIL. 6. 500. seq., 504, 510) under the hegemony of the religion of the *Magna Mater* (p. 137). While the latter on account of its privileged position (ch. III) came to be the natural protector of the other exotic religions in general, for Mithraism in particular it formed almost an integral complement in as much as it naturally attracted the women of the Mithraic devotees, who were as a rule excluded from the Mithraic communities.²

However, as the Phrygian religion of Attis and of the Great Mother (p. 138 seq.), as the Egyptian religion of Sérapis (p. 190), so the Persian religion, was influenced by the assimilating tendency of a general syncretism. Syncretism developed itself not only in Hellenism (writings in Greek attributed to Zoroaster, to Hystaspes, to the Magian Hostanes) and in Judaism (apocrypha of Baruch, who

• 1 Another special prohibition for the *summus pontifex*: was that he could not marry more than once (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40).

2 Cumont I, 330; cf. above n. 70.

was identified with Zarathushtra),¹ but also in Christianity, here giving impulse not only to various attempts p. 271 of presenting the Persian religion as a prelude of Christianity and Zarathushtra as a forerunner of Christ (cf. the legend of the three Magian kings), but also to some heterodox and sectarian "gnostic" formations, like those *Prodiciani*, who possessed apocryphal books attributed to Zoroaster, or those *Heliognosti*, who are more specially representatives of an approachment between Christianity and Mithraism, founded on the identification of Mithra with (*Shamash*)-*Helios* and of Christ with the "Sun of justice".²

Mithraism would have a by far greater, though an indirect, importance in connection with the problem of the same origins of Christianity, if these origins were really, as Reitzenstein advocates,³ dependent on an Iranian mystery, having reached across Mesopotamia the Jewish world, and there having so deeply impressed the popular and heterodox Judaism as to influence the community of John the Baptist, thence the community of Jesus itself, and finally the thought of Paul. The doctrine of the soul as an interior divine man, who, being emanated from the heavenly man, slumbers quasi-unconsciously in the world of matter and only saves himself, when he is waked up by

1 Cumont I, 44; Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 99 seq.; cf. R. Pettazzoni, *La Religione di Zarathustra*, 79 seq.

2 Malach. IV, 2; cf. Ἀὐτὸ Ἅγιον μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰησοῦ in the Διήγησις τῶν ἐν Περσίδι παραθέντων, quoted by Cumont I, 43, cf. 355. Some see (Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* 1915, II 261) in the *Pileatus* spoken of by Augustine (*et ipse Pileatus Christianus est*, above on p. 139) Mithra himself rather than Attis.

3 R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Bonn 1921. Cf. *Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen u. frühchristlichen Literaturen*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akademie, 1917 n. 10).

the message of a divine savior, so as to be repeated for every individual soul the prototypical vicissitudes of the first man: this doctrine, whose analogy with some Pauline doctrines are evident, would be, according to Reitzenstein,

- originated from an Iranian mystery, whose traces are preserved in Mandeism¹ and Manichæism. But this oriental Iranian mystery cannot be historically understood — this being the preliminary task for every ulterior deduction, otherwise than in connection with that other (western) p. 272

Iranian mystery which is Mithraism. As the oriental Iranian mystery itself appertains rather to the popular than to the Zoroastrian religion (Reitzenstein), this and Mithraism would represent two lines of divergent development from one and the same point of origin.² This point, as we have seen above, is to be found on a line going back to the primitive phases of the Iranian religion, and more precisely to that agrarian religiosity from which the mysteries are generally originated.

• These most ancient agrarian rites with animal sacrifices and intoxicating libations as their basis, represented in the Iranian religion a first nucleus of mysticism from which an Iranian mystery of salvation could be developed. And if in Manichæism Ohrmazd himself assumed the rôle of the savior, probably only after his degradation from the rank of the supreme Principle, which was taken up by Zrvan, this development is paralleled on the other line by Mithra assuming the same function, by taking the place of the genuine Savior, i.e. of the original sacrificer of the first bull, i.e. probably the first man ("Adam"). From the spinal marrow of the first bull sprang up corn, from his

1 R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse u. die Evangelienüberlieferung*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelb. Akad. 1919, n. 12.

2 Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlösungsmyst.* 8, 31, 42, etc.

blood sprang up vine, and therefore the bread and the wine are the elements of the mystic banquet, in which every man attains the supreme hope of salvation (p. 266). He who is disposed to see in the Pauline system the influence
p. 273 of the Iranian eschatological beliefs, will at once perceive the value of this coincidence, the bread and the wine being also the elements of the Christian Eucharist, and precisely the bread as the body, the wine as the blood of the Lord (Marc. 14. 22 seq., Math. 26, 26 seq., Luk. 22. 19 seq., cf. 1. Cor. 10. 21). From this standpoint Mithraism would attain indirectly a capital importance with regard to the problem of the origins of Christianity.

THE DERIVATION OF THE GUJARATI WORD કારંજે યા કારંજે (KARANJÔ OR KÂRANJÔ).¹

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

For the English word "fountain", we have in our Gujarati dictionaries, ફાઉન્ટેન, કારંજે, કારંજે (fâûrô, *karanjô*, *kâranjô*)². Shapurji Edalji, in his Gujarati-English Dictionary³, gives, for the Gujarati word કારંજે (*karanjô*), "a cascade, fountain."

Now, what is this word? I do not find the word in Steingass's Persian Dictionary. I do not find it in Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary. I beg to suggest the following derivation. It may be Persian *kârez* (کاريز). Steingass (p. 1004) says: "*Kârez*, a subterraneous canal, a sewer; a ditch dug round a field to convey water." Johnson gives, for a "canal", the word قنات *qanât* and the word کاريز *kâriz*.

Then, how can we explain the Persian word *kâriz*?

(a) At first thought, one may be tempted to derive the word from کاه *kâh*, hay or straw, and *rikhtan* (ریختن), to pour, i.e., that which carries water for straw or vegetation. (b) Or, perhaps, one may take it as *kishtriz* (کشتریز), i.e., from *kisht* (کشت), field, and *rikhtan*, i.e., "what pours (i.e., carries) water to fields."

¹ This paper was read before the 5th Oriental Conference, which met at Lahore in November 1928.

² Vide Students' English and Gujarati Dictionary, by M. Trikandas and Javerilal G. Desai, 1885, p. 296.

³ Ed. of 1863, p. 72.

But the most probable derivation is suggested to me by the Pahlavi commentary of the third section of the first chapter of the Vendidad. There, in the original Avesta, is a mention of Aerân-vej as the first, out of the 16, countries which formed, at one time or another, the Great Iran. The Avesta speaks of the country as "Airya-nem Vêjô Vanghuyao Daitiyao". འི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཤར་ཁུངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཕོ་བླ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞེས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་། i.e., the Iran Vej of the good Daiti.

The Pahlavi translator and commentator translates thus :

سوڊا ۽ 'سولڊ' - سولڊ - [سولڊ - سولڊ] -
 سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ -
 سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ -
 سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ -
 سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ - سولڊ -

Translation.—Airān Veī of the good Dāitya. [This (river) is (called) good Dāiti for this reason, that the river Dāiti flows in that country and does its work by *avae-paēm* (i.e., subterranean conduits). There are some, who say, thus, that, by means of *avae-paēm* (which) they bring, they do work (cultivation) in that place].

The Avesta word *avaepaēm* is a rare word. The Pahlavi translator gives it in Avesta characters. It is used nowhere else. It seems to be some corrupted form of *ava* and *âpa* (𐬀𐬕𐬀 and *âpa*), i.e., "below" and "water", meaning subterranean water.

1 Pahlavi Vendidad, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 4, l. 5.
Vide Pahlavi Vendidad by Dastur Darab P. Sanjana p. 2.

The Pahlavi word *kar* or *kâr* may be taken to be the same as Arabic *karr* (ك), meaning a small cistern or reservoir.¹ Now, those who have seen the *kâriz* and *kanâts* of Persia, know how water is brought to the fields by subterranean channels and other means. So, I think, that the Pahlavi word *kâr* in the above passage has originated the word *kâriz*. The word may be *kâr-riz*, i.e., a canal or conduit, whereby water is poured or brought into work in a field. So, I derive the Parsee Gujarati word *karanjô* (કારંજો) from Pahlavi *kâr-riz* which may be written 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥 or 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥. The latter form 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥 may be read *kârniz*.

¹ Steingass.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS.

(J. J. M.)

I

Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala's paper on "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa."

Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala has recently published a paper entitled "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa." In it, he has given, with an interesting Introduction, the Texts and Translations of some of the Inscriptions given by Rev. Father V. Scheil in the 21st Volume of "Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse." These Inscriptions were discovered in excavations carried on at Susa by the French Government since 1897.

The Inscription of Darius I (B.C. 522-486) relates to "the foundation of the palace of Susa.. The king, appreciating the gift of Ahura Mazda to him of 'good horses and good subjects' etc., declares, that he had come to the throne during the life-time of his father Hystaspes and grandfather Arsama. His father was living when he completed the palace of Susa. The people of Babylon and Assyria helped him in building the palace. Materials were brought from distant countries. Wood called *naurina* was brought from Lebanon and that called *yakâ* from Gandâra. Gold was brought from Sardes and Bactria; precious stones like *kaputka* and *sikba* from Sogdiana and those like *axšina* from Chorasmia; silver and one other metal from Egypt; materials for the

decoration of the wall of fortification from Ionia; ivory from Kušša, India and Arachosia; and stone columns from Aphrodisias of Ogia. Artizans came from Media, Babylonia and Egypt. The palace was built on an artificial platform standing 15 m. higher than the land of the plain of the Kerkhah."

The Inscriptions of Darius are as usual in the three languages of his Empire—Persian, Anzanite, and Babylonian. Rev. Scheil has restored 20 inscriptions of Darius, 7 of Xerxes, 2 of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, and 1 of Artaxerxes III Ochus. Darius I had built the palace as well as the celebrated *apadana* of Susa. The *apadana* was latterly burnt down by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Next to those of Behistun and Naqsh-i Rostam, the inscription at Susa stands as the third in length. The Persian version exists on a "baked clay tablet, which was, at first, most probably deposited in the royal treasury."

The clay-tablet versions in the other two state-languages are lost. The text of the inscriptions fortunately existed in duplicates on slabs of chalk-stone which were probably buried in the foundation. The date of building the Susa palace approximately comes to "517-16 B.C., i.e., about a year later than the building of the big terrace of Persepolis, which event Herzfeld places in about 518-17 B.C." "It seems that the political troubles in Asiatic provinces ended in about 518 B.C." and the king then went to Egypt and subdued the African peoples, the Putiyas, the Kušiyas, the Macyas (the Maxyes of Herodotus IV, 191, who were Libyan husbandmen and lived in regions corresponding to modern Tunis) and the Karkas who may be Carthagenians.

Dr. Unvala thus closes his very interesting Introduction: "My chief intention in publishing this booklet is

to lay in an English version before the Trustees of those Parsi Funds, from which I am generously helped in my studies, and before those Parsi gentlemen who besides giving their material support in my research work, are extending their liberal patronage towards my literary publications, a highly interesting and unique record of peaceful achievements of their glorious ancestor Darius.

In closing this brief notice of Dr. J. M. Unvala's learned booklet, I beg to thank the Trustees of the above referred to Funds—The N. M. Wadia Charity Funds and the Muncherji F. Cama Athornan Institute—and the few Parsi gentlemen, who, kindly responding to my appeal to them, have placed at my disposal sufficient funds for helping the archæological studies of Dr. Unvala at Paria and Susa.

II

Prof. Arthur Christensen's paper on the Later Avesta.

Prof. Arthur Christensen, in his paper¹ entitled "*Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*" (Study of the Zoroastrianism of Ancient Persia) has included two articles—I, "Contributions à la critique de l'Avesta récent" and II, "Zoroastrisme et Zurvanisme". The first article is a good dissertation upon the Yashts.

According to Dr. Geldner, the following Yashts are older compositions: Yashts 5 (Aban), 8 (Tir), 9 (Gosh), 10 (Meher), 13 (Farvardin), 14 (Behram), 15 (Ram), 16 (Din), 17 (Ashi) and 19 (Jam-yad). The rest are

¹ Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk filologiske Meddelelser. XV, 2 (1928).

later. Prof. Christensen tries to fix the date of their composition a little more approximately. He takes the Yashts 10 (Meher), 12 (Farvardin) and 19 (Jamīyad) to be pre-Achæmenian, or, at least, as those written in the early Achæmenian times.

The Jamīyad Yasht belongs, as it were, to Seistan. Its horizon does not extend to the West of Iran.

Prof. Christensen takes Yashts 5 (Aban), 8 (Tir), 14 (Behram), 15 (Ram), Yasna 9 to 11 (Hom Yasht) and Yasna 57 (the larger Sarosh Yasht) to have been written in the 4th century B.C., in the times of the Achæmenians. Out of these, he takes Yasht 5 (Aban), to have been written some time after 404 B.C., in the reign of Artaxerxes (404-358 B.C). Aban Yasht knew both the East and the West of Iran.

Of the above-mentioned three, pre-Achæmenian yashts, he takes the Meher Yasht to be the oldest. The countries, it refers to, are Sogdiana, Margiana, Kharzem and Areia (Herat).

He places the Gosh Yasht, which speaks of an Yazata named Dravâsp, in the first century A.C. Dravâsp is not much mentioned in the Avesta. This deity is mentioned on the coins of Kanishka (about 125 to 152 A.C.), a king of the Kushans who ruled on the frontiers of India. So, he places this Yasht (Gosh) some time before the time of Kanishka, in the 1st century after Christ.

The mountain Haraiti or Hara berezaiti, referred to in the Aban and Hom Yashts, which was the first cradle of the growth of the Haoma plant, is of the chain of the Paropamisus mountain. The growth of this plant was spread by birds in other directions; e.g., (a) to the

mount Upâiri-Saêna, which Christensen, in company with Bartholomae (Altir. Worten Buch, p. 398) and Marquart (Erânšahr, p. 286), identifies with the Kâh-i-Bâbâ of the Hindukush, and (b) to the seat of the Starôsâra, which is still not identified.

Our author thinks that a part of the Farvardin Yasht refers to the legendary history of pre-Zoroastrian times and is older than Abân, Gosh, Ram, Ashi and Jamyâd Yashts. He thinks that kings Takhma Urupa (Tehmurasp) and Hoshang were Iranian Scythians. Referring to the style of the Yashts, he says, that a general rule is, that the more ancient an Yasht, the more therein predominates metrical (poetical) form. He traces the order of the beings, who have Fravashis in the Farvardin Yasht, as follows:—(a) Ahura Mazda, (b) Amesha Spenta, (c) Yazatas in the order Atar (ûrvâzišta), Sraosha, Neryosang, Rashnu, Mitra, and Manthra. (d) Heavens, earth, plants and the primordial ox, (e) Gayomard. (f) Zarathushtra, (g) Maidhyomah, (h) Zarathushtra's group, *i.e.*, his disciples and sons, King Gushtasp and his sons and other members of his family, Frashostar and Jamasp, (i) A number of others, who defended and helped the Zoroastrian faith. In all, there are 227 names whose Fravashis are invoked. As there are no names of later historical personages, our author concludes that the Farvardin Yasht is, like the Meher Yasht, the most ancient of the writings of the later Avesta. Both these Yashts seem to have been written in Eastern Irân (p. 15).

Dr. Christensen's very long dissertation on the Farvardin Yasht (pp. 10-35) is interesting from the point of view of the following subjects:—

- (1) The Beings and the Personages mentioned in the Yasht.
- (2) The five countries of Irān, Turan, etc., mentioned in the Yasht.
- (3) The formation of several names of persons in the calendar or the list of the illustrious dead in the Yasht.
- (4) The Division of the World in three parts by Faridun.
- (5) The Kayānides.

He enters into a lengthy consideration of the Kayānides. He writes against the view of Hertel, and concludes, that the Kayanians flourished long before the Achæmenians. From the very fact, among others, that Darius does not speak of his father Hystaspes as a Kai, in his Cuneiform Inscriptions, he concludes that this Hystaspes is not the *Kai Vishtasp* (Gushtasp) of the Avesta.

The Ram Yasht is recent but it is older than Gosh Yasht. The Din Yasht is said to have been written in the times of the Arsacides.

Our author gives the following chronological table about the time of the composition of the Yashts:—

Yasht 10	}	They were pre-Achæmenian or written in the time of the early Achæmenians.
" 13		
" 19		
Yasht 5	}	They were written in the times of the Achæmenians, probably in the 4th century B.C.
" 17		
" 8		
" 14		
Yasna 9-11		
" 57		
Yasht 15		
(ss. 6-37)		

The Vendidad is the only book of the existing Avesta, which corresponds to a Nask of the Sasanian period. On comparing the present Vendidad with its summary given in the 8th Book of the Dinkard, it appears, that by the time of the 9th century A.C., when the Dinkard was compiled, the original 12th *pargarad* was already lost. The present 12th chapter is a modern substitution. In the Vendidad, the vigour of the style and the poetic spirit of the Yashts are not observed. It is only here and there that old fragments of religious poetry are observed. Prof. Christensen agrees with Prof. Andreas in taking the Vendidad to have been written in the times of the Parthian King Mithridates I. The countries, named in the first chapter of the Vendidad, seem to be the countries in which Zoroastrianism prevailed in the time of the Arsacides. So the Vendidad seems to have been written in the early period of the rule of the Arsacides, i.e., in the 3rd century B.C.

With reference to the custom of the disposal of the dead, in the Achæmenian times, the Magis exposed the dead, but the kings were buried. But, in the times of the Arsacides, when the Vendidad was written, the exposure of the dead was obligatory for all Zoroastrians.

III

Prof. Christensen on Zoroastrianism and Zurvanism.

Time (Zurvan) and Space (thwasha) play a prominent part, even now, in the consideration of the question of Infinity—the Infinite God and his Infinite Universe. So, they (Time and Space) are referred to here and there in the Avesta. It is nearly a century, since when Iranian scholars of Europe refer to them. Some of them alleged, that the ancient Zoroastrians considered “Zravan Akarana” (Endless Time) as the Supreme Deity, even

over Ahura Mazda. Muller and Spiegel contended against them, about 80 years ago, and said that "in the proper Parsi system, there is no place for Zurvan as the Supreme Deity". There was a sect of the Zurvanistes, who seemed to attach much importance to Zurvan, but that belief has no foundation in the Avesta. Prof. Christensen discusses this question. He refers (p. 47) to some foreign writers, like Eudemos Rhodios, Eznik and others, and, against the view of Spiegel, Muller, Haug and others, thinks, that the Zurvanite belief was not a passing belief in Iran, prevailing among a sect, but was one of the primitive elements (*éléments primitifs*) of Zoroastrianism (page 56).

The answer, that a modern Zoroastrian can give to him and to those of his belief is this: If it was a primitive element of the Zoroastrian faith, like all primitive elements, it must stick to the Faith and come down from age to age, upto now. Secondary elements may, and do, disappear; but not so easily, the primitive elements. Ask an ordinary Zoroastrian of the present day, if Zurvan plays any part in his belief and he will say "No". Ritualistic ceremonies are performed in honour of Ahura Mazda, the Ameshaspands, the Yazatas, the Fravashis, but none whatever in honour of, or even distinctly associated with, Zravana.

IV

Prof. Christensen on M. Benveniste's paper on the Zurvanites..

M. Benveniste has treated the subject of Zrvanism in his paper, entitled "Un rite Zervanite chez Plutarque". Prof. Chritensen has written another paper, entitled "A-t-il existe une religion Zurvanite"? in "Le Monde Oriental" (Volume XV, 1931), wherein he refers to, and

1 Spiegel's Treatise on the 19th Chapter of the Vendidad. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view", p. 44.

discusses, Mr. Benveniste's above paper. M. Benveniste takes it that the Zurvanites were a sect separate from true Zoroastrians. Prof. Christensen, discussing this view, now seems to have been toned down a little, but still thinks that the idea of Zurvanism was in vogue in the Zoroastrianism of the Sasanian times, though the formation of the sect may be later.¹

V

Prof. Christensen on Abarsam and Tansar.

Another interesting paper of Prof. Christensen, entitled "Abarsam et Tansar", published in *Acta Orientalia* (Volume X, 1931), discusses the question, whether Abarsam mentioned in the Fārsnāme (The Fārsnāma of Ibnu'l-Balkhi, edited by G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, p. 60, l. 4) is the same person as Tansar, mentioned in the letter of Tansar addressed to the King of Tabaristan as given by Ibn Isfandiyar (*vide* Darmesteter's Text and Translation in the *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, Tome III, pp. 503-5. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A.S.," pp. 33-35). Prof. Christensen thinks that both the personages are the same. Abarsam may be the proper name of this Dastur of Ardeshir Babegan, and Tansar, *i.e.*, the head (*sar*) of the body (*tan*), was the title.

1 Mihr-Nersel, the Persian Governor of Armenia, had published an ordinance on the belief of Zervana Akarana (*Vide* Prof. Rehatsek's paper on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions", J.B.B.R.A.S., XIII, pp. 18-108). *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A.S.," p. 84.

VI

A Sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine concerning the Future Life, by Prof. A. V. W. Jackson.

This paper is a reprint from an issue of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Volume 50, No. 3, of Professor Jackson's Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the Society held at Toronto in Canada in 1930. We are pleased to learn from it that, shortly, we may expect from the fertile pen of Prof. Jackson, a large volume on the Manichæan doctrine. In this brief paper, we get a foretaste of the full coming meal.

The Sasanian dynasty of Persia has seen two—what may be called from the then Iranian point of view—great heresies. One was inaugurated by Mazdak and another by Mani. Mazdakism, though, at first, supported by the ruling King Kobad, was shortly put an end to by his son Khursu Kobad, who, for his services in that direction, got the honorific title of Anousherwan at the hands of his Iranian co-religionists and was canonized in the beautifully composed Afrin-i-Rapithawin of the Parsis, which is still recited by Parsi priests, especially on the Rapithawin day, the third day of the first month of the Parsi year. We hear and read much of socialism these days, but Mazdak was the first Iranian socialist, and, fortunately, his socialism was short-lived, especially because it was mixed up with ideas that made the holy ties of marriage very loose (*vide* my paper on "Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist" in my "Memorial Papers").

But Manichæism lived long. Though killed in Persia, the land of its birth, it lived for about 1000 years in Central Asia. We had other sources, and among them Arab sources, for its doctrines, but during these last few years, the Turfan manuscripts, among which

some are Pahlavi, have added new materials. It is these new materials that Professor Jackson refers to in this paper.

As said by our author, "the doctrine relating to the hereafter formed the central point towards which Mani's religious and ethical teachings gravitated and in which they culminated with the promised reward for the sanctified." On this subject of Manichæan eschatology, Prof. Jackson has dealt, first, with the fate of the individual soul after death, and then, with the end of the world. He refers to the influence on Manichæism of the religions of Zoroaster, Buddha and Christ. In the matter of the Individual Judgment, he briefly refers to the following subjects:—

- (1) The appearance of a maiden before the departed soul.
- (2) The threefold lot of man in the future life.
- (3) The weighing of one's deeds in a balance.
- (4) The Individual lot

I think, that in Iranian eschatology, the appearance of a beautiful maiden before a Righteous soul—what Revd Dr Cheyne in his "Origin of the Psalter" calls a beautiful allegory—was the original thought; that of an ugly woman, a later thought.

In Mani's threefold lot of man in his future life—the Elect, the Hearers and the Sinners—the Hearers occupy the position of the Hamastagehanis. They have the chance to hear, in the Higher regions, the teachings of some Higher powers and proceed to the abode of the Elect. Mani's ships of the sun and moon for the Elect remind us of the Khurshed-pāya and Mah-pāya paradises of the Iranians.

After an interesting summing up of Mani's view about the Final Judgment, Prof. Jackson gives us his own rendering of some Manichaean Pahlavi fragments.

VII

Prof. Roland G. Kent on "The recently published Old Persian Inscriptions".

We have a learned article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society of September 1931 (Vol. 51, No. 3, pp. 229-240) from the pen of Prof. Roland G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania, under the heading of "The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions". We are glad to find from it, that the work of Dr. Jamshed Manockji Unvala, who, when last in Bombay, had delivered some lectures in our K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, is drawing attention of scholars. In the present article, Prof. Kent dwells mainly on the Inscriptions, which were discovered by the French Archaeological Mission in their excavations at Susa, and which are recently published by Dr. V. Scheil, under the title of "Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse". Dr. Unvala has made Dr. Scheil's work available to all readers by his recent book, entitled "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides, found at Susa", referred to above in this article. These Inscriptions are 22 in number and belong to Darius I and II and to Xerxes and Artaxerxes. In the matter of one of Darius II, Prof. Kent differs from Dr. Scheil as to its authorship. Our author has tried to restore the Inscriptions and then given their transliteration and translation. Of the work of Dr. Unvala, Prof. Kent says, that the Old Persian Inscriptions in it are edited "with a valuable introduction, a summary of new words and forms a passage concordance with previously

known inscriptions, an English translation, and a glossary with etymological and epexegetical material". We are glad to observe, that Mr. E. Benveniste, who was in our midst in Bombay for some months and was our co-worker in several directions, and who has also worked on this theme, has also received appreciation for his work.

We are also glad to observe, that Dr. Unvala's paper, "Two New Historical Documents of the Great Achaemenian King Darius Hystaspes, read before our Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Man'li, in the hall of our Cama Oriental Institute, on 24th September 1926, passes under notice in this paper at the hand of Prof. Kent. Dr. Unvala's paper on the two Inscriptions on a gold and silver plate, discovered near Hamadan, is published in our Journal (No. 10, pp. 1-3). When travelling in Persia in the end of 1925, I had the good fortune of receiving a photo of the golden plate from Dr. Said Khan Kurdistani at Teheran. I had the pleasure of submitting this photo at the meeting, where Dr. Unvala's paper was read. I had some correspondence with a scholar at Teheran in the matter of acquiring the golden plate for the Parsee community, and, then, had some correspondence with some Parsee gentlemen here. I had also interviews with one or two gentlemen. But the price asked for it, about Rs. 20,000, was found to be too much and the matter was dropped. I do not know where the plates are at present. They are most probably acquired by the Persian Government. My photo of the golden plate is published at the end of Dr. Unvala's paper in our Journal."

Printed by Hosang T. Anklesaria at the Fort Printing Press,
No. 1, Parsi Bazaar Street, Fort, Bombay.

Published by Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,
Sukhadwalla Bldg., 172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
